

Soviet Military Strength—J. A. del Vayo

THE *Nation*

January 24, 1953

H. H. WILSON

The Senate Sellout

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Scientists in a Mad World

BY MAURICE B. VISSCHER

✱

I Have a Thing to Tell You

An Appeal to the American Conscience

BY RUTH E. CRAWFORD

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

City Censors Ban Classics

St. Cloud, Minnesota

FOR almost three years this city of 30,000 persons in central Minnesota has imposed a legal censorship on literature. More than 300 books and periodicals are already banned from sale, display, or distribution, and new books are being added to the list at the rate of about 30 a month.

Some of the banned books are sensational stories of violence and sex, but others are classics of American and British literature. Among the forbidden books are "Of Human Bondage" and "Cakes and Ale" by Somerset Maugham, "Sanctuary" by William Faulkner, "Tobacco Road" by Erskine Caldwell, the "Studs Lonigan" trilogy by James T. Farrell, "Scottsboro Boy" by Heywood Patterson, "What Makes Sammy Run" by Budd Schulberg, "Black Boy" and "Native Son" by Richard Wright, and "The Gallery" by John Horne Burns.

A city ordinance delegates censorship power to a board of five members, which can proscribe a book by a four-fifths' vote. The board met in secrecy until the city adopted a new charter which requires open meetings of all city boards. It has never made public its list of banned books.

The ordinance says publications may be outlawed if they "prominently feature an account of horrors, robberies, murders, arson, assault with caustic chemicals, assault with a deadly weapon, burglary, kidnapping, mayhem, rape, theft, voluntary manslaughter, ridicule of law enforcement or parental authority; or are obscene, immoral, or lewd, or ridicule any person or persons by reason of race, creed, or color; or advocate un-American or subversive activities." Violators of the ordinance are subject to a fine of \$100 or 90 days' imprisonment, but none have been prosecuted. Board members say they prefer to keep dealers in line by obtaining their cooperation rather than by compulsion. A committee of twenty-five persons appointed by the mayor makes spot checks of the newsstands. If banned books are found on display, the dealer is asked to remove them, with the unspoken threat of a fine or jail sentence if

he does not. Critics contend that legal enforcement has not been attempted because any court would rule the ordinance unconstitutional.

MRS. ELMER BARG, chairman of the board, says, "It isn't a matter of whether it is constitutional to ban objectionable literature. It's just that young people shouldn't be reading that kind of thing." A devout Catholic housewife, Mrs. Barg believes censorship is a means of "saving souls." She started the drive against bad books in St. Cloud when she overheard some youngsters talking about comic books. Supported by a Catholic priest, she demanded an ordinance to keep "trashy books" off the newsstands. The ordinance was passed by a Catholic-dominated city council and signed by a Catholic mayor.

The mayor then appointed a board of review consisting of three Catholics and two Protestants, and the board drew up a working code based on principles of the National Organization for Decent Literature, a Catholic group. One of the principal readers is the Reverend Richard Wey, a Catholic priest, who has read and reported on more than 250 pocket-size books. Other screening is done by members of a local Catholic literary group. Less than 10 per cent of the books examined are approved. If board members disagree about a book, it is placed on a secret "border-line" list.

"Werewolf of Paris," by Guy Endore, was apparently banned for showing a Catholic priest in an unfavorable light; "Wild Palms," by William Faulkner, for giving information on abortions and birth control; "Quietly My Captain Waits," by Evelyn Eaton, had been criticized by the *Catholic World* for its account of marital infidelity.

So far the board has screened only pocket-size books on sale at newsstands. Members say they seek only to protect juvenile readers, but the actual effect of banning a book is to keep it from adults too. The board has the power to ban books anywhere in the city, including the public library, but it has made no effort to have books removed from the library shelves. Newspapers are exempt from censorship.

Liberal opposition to the censorship

program has its center at the St. Cloud state teachers' college. Dr. Lewis Smith, an English instructor, thinks the ordinance should be rewritten so that it can be used only to keep offensive books out of the hands of juveniles. "The problem," he said, "is to strike the fine balance between protecting the youth and keeping our freedom."

Many critics who believe the board is exercising religious censorship prefer to remain anonymous because Catholics are the dominant economic, political, and social element in the city. Mrs. Barg, however, insists that it is not a religious campaign. "It is strictly a civic project," she says. "We're not being radical about this. We're just after those books that really cause young people to go to hell if they read them consistently."

MRS. BARG and her followers have now carried their program to other communities. Father Wey has started a board of review in nearby Foley. Ordinances patterned after that in force in St. Cloud have been adopted in Sauk Rapids, Hibbing, and Faribault and are under consideration in several other cities. The Knights of Columbus are vigorous supporters of the movement.

Both Mrs. Barg and Father Wey seek to make censorship state wide. Vince Halloran, president of the Minnesota Association of Juvenile Judges, also favors a state literature code and screening system and has asked all juvenile judges to join a campaign against indecent literature.

Arnold Paulson, president of the Minnesota Junior Chambers of Commerce, says representatives of the Catholic church have approached Jaycee officers in several Minnesota communities to urge curbs on the sale of undesirable books. The Jaycees decided against a state-wide campaign. "Freedom of the press is one of our basic freedoms," Paulson said. "We don't want it taken away."

DEAN SCHOELKOPF AND TOM WILSON

[The authors are students at the University of Minnesota who once worked as reporters for the St. Cloud Daily Times.]

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The Shape of Things

Harry Says Goodbye

Harry Truman will not be numbered among the great Presidents, but he will have his place in history and may, in time, become the hero of a kind of folk legend. For there is a Horatio Alger quality in the contrast between the long, drab years of his political apprenticeship and its culmination in the White House. And nothing in the history of the Presidency is more dramatic than his sudden elevation to a position for which he felt, as he said in his farewell broadcast, "there must be a million men better qualified."

Mr. Truman rose to the occasion in a way that has commanded the respect of most fair-minded people. In contrast to other promoted vice-presidents—Calvin Coolidge, for example—he grew in stature as his responsibilities increased. Inevitably he made many mistakes, and his judgments of men and affairs were often defective. But there were also occasions when he acted boldly and wisely. Usually he showed a real sympathy with and understanding of democracy. And most of the many enemies he made do him credit.

In his last talk to the people Mr. Truman was simple, direct, and moving. Putting rancor aside, he gave a generous welcome to his successor and then reviewed in modest terms his years of office. This has been a tense, unhappy period in the world's history and Mr. Truman could hold out little hope to his listeners of an early turn for the better. But he spoke out strongly against the immoral doctrine of preventive war and emphasized the vital necessity of clinging to the principles we seek to defend. This solemn warning will, we trust, be heeded by the incoming Administration.

The Truman Record

In his farewell talk Mr. Truman touched briefly on the growth and the spread of domestic prosperity during the past eight years. It was a subject he had already covered intensively in his final report to Congress on the

economic condition of the nation. There, extending his review over the whole period of the New Deal and Fair Deal, he was able to cite impressive evidence of economic progress—evidence that makes nonsense of the calamity howling that has been the chief Republican stock in trade ever since 1932.

Comparing conditions in 1929, a year of high production and prosperity, with those in 1952, Mr. Truman pointed out that in the intervening twenty-four years the national output of goods and services was doubled in volume and annual average income, after taxes, increased 50 per cent, measured in terms of current prices. He cited many other comparative statistics indicating both the striking improvement in living standards that has occurred since 1929 and the more-equitable distribution of income that has been achieved.

But the message was not complacent. It pointed out that there was still much to be done before the problems of economic and social justice were solved; it warned that the end of the defense build-up might test our ability to avoid depression if the tools developed in the past twenty years were allowed to rust. On the other hand, provided a balanced and progressive economy were maintained, Mr. Truman forecast confidently that another decade would bring us to far greater heights of wealth and welfare. Altogether this economic report seems to us worthy of careful study. We advise all citizens, including the members of the Eisenhower Administration, to file but *not* forget it.

Inauguration

So the New Deal and the Fair Deal pass into history. What do we have now—the Big Deal? There is bigness all around the White House: General Motors, the Chase bank, Dillon Reed, Continental Can. When is the last time we had a candidate for Cabinet office who was embarrassed by owning \$2,500,000 worth of stock in a single corporation?

We wish President Eisenhower well, but fear that in surrounding himself with Big Dealers he has cut himself off from the millions of little people who elected him.

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The Issue Is Bigotry

In denying membership to Planned Parenthood, a national birth-control organization, the New York Welfare and Health Council has touched off what promises to be the year's bitterest controversy in the field of social service. Planned Parenthood was a member of the Health Council of Greater New York before its merger last spring with the Welfare Council. In rejecting the application of Planned Parenthood for membership in the merged council, the directors specifically cited, as the basis of their decision, the threat by Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York to withdraw from the council. Yet the rejection followed a vote approving the program, policies, and services of Planned Parenthood as consistent with the council's objectives! Seeking to justify its action, the council contends that it should not be made "the battleground for the contest of this issue." But what issue? Birth control was not the issue. The issue was whether a religious group should be permitted to impede and injure an accepted medical program. The council's action has not allayed controversy; on the contrary it has started one that will continue for months.

An agreeable postscript indicates that Catholic Charities might not have withdrawn had the council ignored its threat. One year ago seven non-Catholic physicians on the staff of St. Francis Hospital in Poughkeepsie were told to sever their connections with the Planned Parenthood movement in Dutchess County or get off the hospital staff. Three of the physicians reluctantly complied with the order but four of them defied it. The sequel came this month. Thanks to a solid front among the physicians of the county, warning was given the hospital that one firing or one refusal to renew a staff membership in 1953 would precipitate mass resignations from the staff. All seven of the physicians who were served with the ultimatum in 1952 have received letters continuing their affiliation.

Peak of Destruction

The President's warning that the atomic age is moving toward "yet unforeseeable peaks of destructive power" can be amplified by four related statements. The first is Joseph and Stewart Alsop's informed guess, based upon "crude but dependable calculations," that the primitive hydrogen bomb tested at Eniwetok was "between 150 and 250 times more powerful than the bomb that fell on Hiroshima. It was the equivalent of between 3,000,000 and 5,000,000 tons of TNT." The second is the expression of strong Congressional support for the use of atomic weapons even on the relatively small Korean battlefield which came in the wake of the President's message. The third is the statement of Gordon Dean, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, before the American Bar Association in San Francisco on Septem-

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ber 17, that sooner or later a point would be reached, "and *not* in the *unforeseeable future*," when we would have acquired all the bombs needed to destroy not only the industrial ability of an aggressor to make war but also his forces in the field. "When this point is reached," Mr. Dean said, "what do we do then?" The fourth is a too little noticed item in the *Nippon Times* of December 30 reporting that Japan has begun to split atoms with a new cyclotron installed at the Institute of Science in Tokyo and calling attention to the fact that the peace treaty places no restrictions on Japan's atomic research. Forgotten now is the episode of November 23, 1945, when American engineers armed with acetylene torches, sledges, and crowbars smashed five cyclotrons and related equipment in Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto, dumped the pieces into the sea, and announced that everything which might some day go into the making of atomic bombs in Japan—"except scientists' brains"—had been destroyed.

Despite the President's warning, the moral, political, and military implications of the H-bomb are being ignored. For one thing, as the Alsops point out, "the facts about the H-bomb are being concealed from the American people . . . the problems are unbearably unpleasant, which is the real reason why nobody is thinking about them."

The Conant Appointment

The appointment of President Conant of Harvard as United States High Commissioner for Germany—a good one on the merits—may provide some special protection for Harvard, but it is bad news for American education in general. With three Congressional committees eager to ferret out "reds" and "Communist thinkers" in our colleges and universities, key academic spokesmen like the President of Harvard, who has publicly opposed loyalty oaths and the more rabid forms of loyalty investigations, should remain at their posts to speak out in defense of American education.

President Conant's decision to accept the appointment is consistent, however, with his view—from which *The Nation* sharply dissents—that American education should

Next Week in *The Nation*

On the record, the Republican Party now holds power at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue. But is it really the same party that has moved into the White House at one end and the Capitol at the other? That may prove the basic question which will determine the nature of the Administration for the next two years.

Bruce Catton, brilliant journalist and historian, will give you his analysis of the problem in next week's *Nation* in the first of his dispatches on the new Washington scene.

be regarded as "an instrument of national policy." Both President Conant and General Eisenhower (then of Columbia) were members of the drafting committee which prepared the 1949 report, "American Education and International Tension," for the Educational Policies Commission of the National Educational Association. The view of education as an "instrument of national policy" was established in this report and was reaffirmed in principle at the recent meeting of the Association of American Colleges, which also adopted a resolution welcoming a "free and impartial" investigation of American colleges and universities.

The Congressional committees will of course contend that in making the investigation their purpose is merely to see how efficiently American education is discharging the function assigned it by President Conant. Concerning this narrow concept of education Edward R. Murrow, noted CBS commentator, said recently: "The purpose of education is to teach people to think in order that they may have informed views on many things, including national policy. . . . The concept of education as an instrument of national policy was the dusty contribution of Mussolini and Hitler to the destruction of freedom in Europe."

More Purges

IN THE conduct of the recent Prague trial anti-Semitism was flagrant. (The official indictments began: "Rudolf Slansky, born in 1901, of Jewish origin; Ludvik Frejka, born January 5, 1904, of Jewish origin; Bedrich Geminder, born November 19, 1901, of Jewish origin.") The examination of Geminder during the trial was a classic of racist innuendo: "You never learned to speak Czech? . . . Can you really speak a decent German? . . . That means that you speak no language decently. A typical cosmopolitan!" In Moscow the matter has been handled more circumspectly. The religion or racial origin of the doctors arrested was not mentioned—though in most cases the names spoke for themselves: at least six of the nine are Jews. Only some of the group were identified by the Russians as "Jewish Terrorists" or as "connected with the international Jewish bourgeois-nationalist 'Joint'." The others, apparently were linked with Tito, Trotsky, or the State Department—you can take your pick.

It may be that the Russians, in the handling of the trial when it comes, will continue a certain circumspection. It may be that the Soviet people, disciplined by thirty-five years of communism, will act with restraint towards their 2,500,000 fellow-countrymen of the Jewish faith. But what will be the ultimate effect of this spotlighting of Jews as "bourgeois conspirators" in other countries behind the curtain? In Rumania (with 250,000 Jews), in Hungary (155,000), in Poland (45,000),

anti-Semitism is old; it is communism that is new. There have already been ugly repercussions from Budapest, where the leader of the Jewish community has already been arrested and the newspapers are crying that the "Joint"—the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee—and Zionism are worse dangers in Hungary than in the Soviet Union. What an omen for the purge that is expected shortly in the Hungarian capital!

The world-wide sense of outrage provoked by the Prague trial and by the latest Moscow development has not been entirely wasted. Communists everywhere have been put on the defensive, dialectically at least. Here in this country the Communists point to certain statements made editorially by the Prague newspaper *Rude Pravo*, and by the Czech President Klement Gottwald, hotly denying anti-Semitism and even warning the Czech people that they must learn to distinguish between plain Jews on the one hand and Zionists and Jewish "bourgeois nationalists" on the other. It is a distinction which clearly did not impress the prosecutor in the Slansky trial. It is likely to impress even less millions of ignorant people who, having been nurtured on prejudices for ten generations or more, are not likely to have got rid of them in ten years or less.

THE COMMUNIST leaders of Eastern Europe know all this. They know who can follow their dialectics and who cannot. Had they really been concerned only with bringing a few people to book for crimes real or fancied, they had the machinery to do so swiftly and secretly. They are old hands at swift and secret justice. But they have chosen instead the *cause célèbre*, with Israel, Zionists, the philanthropic Joint Distribution Committee, and that neo-Marxist phenomenon known as the "Jewish bourgeois nationalist" as the principal victims.

One asks again: Why? In our issue of December 6 we pointed out Soviet Russia's historical enmity toward Zionism and its present interest in playing up to the Arabs. That is unquestionably part of the answer. But there is also the feeling, shared by many close observers of the Eastern European scene, that these purges are the outer manifestations of the inner stresses which periodically attack monolithic political structures. But are the purges designed merely to strengthen a Malenkov faction against a Molotov faction? Or are they designed to strengthen the Soviet bloc against the West—with a view to a showdown that the Russians believe imminent?

In the meantime the Russians have set in motion another kind of purge. Thousands of progressives all over the world—Jews and non-Jews—who abhor Hitlerism even when practiced by the avowed enemies of Hitler are purging themselves of any last belief they might have had that communism is for them. In the West even members of the Communist Party are tearing up their cards.

The Senate Sellout

BY H. H. WILSON

ON JANUARY 2 the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections released the main body of its report on the financial manipulations of Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin. It is probable that no more damning document involving the integrity of a member of the United States Senate has ever been drawn up.

Twenty-four hours later the Senate chaplain, the Reverend Frederick Brown Harris, opened the Eighty-third Congress with the prayer: "Save us from the supreme hypocrisy of making this holy moment of communion with the Unseen and the Eternal but a conventional gesture of unfelt piety." Thirty-six Senators then took the oath of office, and not a voice was raised to protest the seating of McCarthy. No Senator had sufficient courage to object or to call for a hearing on the charges. Ignored was the warning in the subcommittee's report that "this is a matter that transcends partisan politics and goes to the very core of the Senate body's authority, integrity, and the respect in which it is held by the people of this country."

It is now taken for granted that the episode is closed. The Senate stands revealed as a body capable of ferocious zeal in hunting down all sorts of liberals and radicals suspected of subversion but incapable of acting on charges of genuine subversion against one of its own members. However, it is not the Senate alone which is at fault. The subcommittee responsible for the report showed timidity in gathering its facts and a lack of forthrightness in presenting them. With a few honorable exceptions, the press and radio of the country, wilting before the malodorous Marine from Wisconsin, has completely ignored the report. Surely nothing more clearly illustrates our social malaise and moral bankruptcy than the fact that McCarthy has been able to make good his boast: "They should know by this time that they cannot scare or turn me aside."

For eighteen months McCarthy conducted a campaign of insult, smear, and terror against members of the subcommittee. He accused them of doing the work of Communists and of "stealing from the pockets of the American taxpayers tens of thousands of dollars." Apparently as a result of this kind of pressure Senator Gillette resigned and Senator Monroney started on a European trip. It is less remarkable that investigator Jack Poorbaugh resigned on the ground that the subcommittee was unfair to McCarthy. Poorbaugh, according to the report, "had conferred with associates of Senator McCarthy, including Fulton Lewis, Jr., just prior to his resignation in order to assist Senator McCarthy in the primary election." Although McCarthy was invited at least six times to testify before the sub-

committee, he refused to do so. The failure of the subcommittee to subpoena him is not mitigated by its naive remark that "until very recently, there was a chance that Senator McCarthy would himself come in to give explanations with respect to the many transactions under question." Nor can it be reconciled with the subcommittee's account of his insulting behavior. "The record of what took place thereafter leaves the inescapable conclusion that Senator McCarthy deliberately set out to thwart any investigation of him by obscuring the real issue and the responsibility of the subcommittee by charges of lack of jurisdiction, smear, and Communist-inspired persecution." Senators Hennings and Hendrickson of the subcommittee must have been aware that McCarthy had similarly flaunted it in 1951, when it was investigating his participation in the Butler-Tydings campaign.

THE SUBCOMMITTEE'S report does not go into McCarthy's activities before he was a candidate for the United States Senate, "except in so far as such information may be necessary to a better understanding of later financial matters." Thus it does not deal with his rebuke by the Chief Justice of the Wisconsin Supreme Court for a highly improper "abuse of judicial power" in ordering a portion of the court record destroyed, or with his alleged operation of a divorce mill, or with his Wisconsin tax troubles. It notes, however, that "under all the circumstances," including McCarthy's membership on the Banking and Currency Committee with jurisdiction over the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the Housing Agencies, his acceptance of a \$10,000 fee from the Lustron Corporation, which was being financed by the R. F. C. "would appear to have been highly improper, to say the least."

The report also implies that McCarthy may have used inside information about the R. F. C.'s intention regarding Seaboard Airlines Railroad, to which it made a loan of more than \$15,000,000—McCarthy bought more shares of Seaboard with Lustron's \$10,000. In October, 1948, "it did not appear to an 'outsider,' or to the uninformed, to be either a good investment or speculation," but by September, 1951, McCarthy was able to sell 1,000 shares for a net profit of \$35,614.

Rarely has the racket aspect of the anti-Communist drive been more nakedly exposed than by the revelation that funds contributed to support McCarthy's "crusade

against communism" were apparently used to finance his private speculations. With \$10,000 obtained from Mr. and Mrs. Alvin M. Bentley, and operating through County Superintendent of Schools Henry J. Van Straten of Appleton, Wisconsin, the plunging Senator speculated in soybean futures in October, 1950, for a net profit of \$17,354. The subcommittee noted that "just prior to the transaction in question, the Commodity Exchange Authority . . . conducted an investigation of alleged soybean market manipulation involving, among others, a number of Chinese traders." None the less the subcommittee was "reluctant to conduct any extensive inquiry" into McCarthy's relations with Alfred Kohlberg and the China Lobby.

According to William T. Evjue, editor of the Madison *Capital Times*—the first editor to expose McCarthy's record some six years ago and a close student of that record—the names of Bentley and Van Straten are "absolutely new in the five-year investigation of the tangled financial affairs of the Senator." Writes Mr. Evjue: "I have a copy of the committee's report and I am amazed over the new revelations." If the facts amaze Mr. Evjue, doubtless other Wisconsin citizens will be amazed. Why, then, were not these facts made known to the voters of Wisconsin before the election? And why has the press so generally failed to identify the Alvin M. Bentley of the report as Congressman Alvin M. Bentley?

The Senator received sizable contributions from Craig B. Sheaffer, president of the W. A. Sheaffer Pen Company (\$1,000), Bernard Peyton, president of the New York Air Brake Company (\$500), and Frank M. Porter, president of the Fain-Porter Drilling Company (\$500). Unfortunately, "interviews with persons who were identified from checks deposited in Senator McCarthy's special account were limited to the above," although "the makers of other checks deposited in this account, whose identities have been established, are retained in subcommittee files." The subcommittee might have listed all these individuals, as well as those who paid for McCarthy's television attack on Stevenson.

IN 1947, when the Appleton State Bank was pressing McCarthy for additional collateral, he persuaded Russell M. Arundel, Washington representative of the Pepsi-Cola Company, to endorse a \$20,000 note. The subcommittee comment on this transaction adequately represents the kind of weak-kneed capitulation and double-talk that characterize many "opinion leaders" in our society: "His acceptance of a \$20,000 favor from the Washington representative of the Pepsi-Cola Company at the very time he was attacking the government for its manner of handling sugar control makes it difficult to determine whether Senator McCarthy was working for the best interest of the government, as he saw it, or for Pepsi-Cola."

Coming Soon

Mark Gayn, whose articles frequently appear in *The Nation*, has prepared a careful two-part analysis of the recent purges in Russia and its satellite states: I. Red Purges, the Inner Rot; II. Red Purges—Why?

After discussing McCarthy's possible use of his family and associates to conceal his financial operations—his brother admitted that an account was opened in the name of Julia Connolly as a precaution in the event of an investigation of the Senator's affairs—and his possible violations of Wisconsin tax and banking laws, and of federal and state corrupt-practice acts, the report concludes without recommendations for action. This, it has been suggested, was a concession by Senator Hennings to overcome the resistance of Senator Hendrickson.

Thirty-one years ago in a report to Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty, S. L. Scaife remarked that "the government is being overthrown not by Bolsheviks but by crooked politicians and trusted officials who know what is going on and have not the courage to fight or expose the conditions." It is increasingly essential that Americans should identify those in our society who are prepared to sacrifice freedom, human dignity, and the democratic political process in their drive for profits and power. McCarthy does not operate in a vacuum.

For Americans and for the survival of political democracy this record has profound implications. It reveals the failure of nerve of a sick society. What causes

this cowardice? What made possible the defeat of Tydings, Benton, La Follette? Why did the press fail to emphasize the Hennings report? How explain the public's apathy and indifference? We believe that apparently isolated phenomena made these results inevitable. They stem from President Truman's loyalty program; General Eisenhower's agreement to strike out a favorable reference to General Marshall at McCarthy's request; Senator Taft's praise of McCarthy's "great service to the American people." Those who deplore McCarthy's tactics while assuming that he is devoted to the service of democracy themselves undermine the democratic political process. And there are always those who deliberately utilize McCarthy's tactics for their drive to power. These people have helped to create an atmosphere in which resistance to McCarthyism becomes increasingly difficult.

The Senate in its surrender to McCarthy has fumbled the opportunity to provide leadership. President-elect Eisenhower has been compromised, and in any case he does not seem aware of either the issues or the stakes. In general our political leaders have created the impression that the more they talk about the "American Way" and democracy, the less they respect it in practice.

Soviet Military Strength

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THE recent NATO meeting in Paris was a great disappointment to the Allied High Command, forcing General Ridgway to defer his hopes for more concrete decisions until the spring meeting of the council. One of the main reasons for the lack of agreement lay in divergent estimates of the imminence of the Russian peril. While General Gruenther, one of NATO's ablest strategists, declared that "every year is a year of peril," and the State Department, wishing to make a more precise statement, talked of 1954 as the crucial year, the British and the French placed the fateful date, if it should come, in 1956. For the purpose of this article, let us accept a compromise and make it 1955. Having done so, the question I would like to put here is whether there is any solid basis for the theory that in 1955 NATO will have such military superiority with respect to the Soviet Union that the policy of "peace through strength" can be shown to have been effective.

I have undertaken the task, not an easy one, of wading through the available documentation on present Russian strength and on its expected development in the next two years. To supplement this material I have obtained figures and analyses from people directly acquainted with conditions in Russia.

My choice of 1955 was not merely to strike an average between extremes. It is precisely in this year that the most important parts of the new Soviet Five-Year Plan must prove capable of fulfilment. No close estimate of Russian military strength can be made, now or in years to come, without taking the Five-Year Plan into account. Its presentation before the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party was somewhat overshadowed by political speculations caused by the simultaneous announcement of a substantial shift in Soviet foreign policy. However, the numerous comments published in the following months, both in the Soviet press and in the specialized Western press—the London *Economist*, for one—make it easier today to gauge accurately the meaning of the new plan.

The first important conclusion reached from such an analysis is that the Soviet Union is, by the very nature of its regime, in a position to carry out its rearmament program without having to struggle with all the complexities of a free economy. Harry Schwartz, drawing up the balance sheet of the past year in the *New York Times* (January 6, 1953), reports that Russia is in a position to manage its armaments program on a progressive scale. He writes: "The Soviet Union's economy at the end of

1952 was far better prepared for war and stronger in military-economic potential than ever before in that country's history." Moreover, as the *London Economist* reminds us (August 23, 1952), "the Soviet economy can switch resources from civil to military production, from consumer goods to industrial equipment, with a speed, ruthlessness, and secrecy that no government in the free world could hope to match in peace time."

THIS feature of Soviet economy was emphasized in the presentation of the new plan by M. Z. Saburov, chairman of the Planning Committee. Commenting on this speech, Professor Philip E. Mosely, director of the Russian Institute of Columbia University, wrote in *Foreign Affairs* for January, 1953, "The American negotiators who dealt with [Mr. Saburov] at the Potsdam conference and later in the Allied Council at Berlin found him incisive and efficient, extremely well informed about economic and reparations problems, and, in a sense, 'unideological' in his approach to concrete problems." Nor is there any inclination among other non-Communist students of the new Five-Year Plan to dismiss his figures as propaganda. Experts as little pro-Soviet as the Geneva economist, Prokopovich, accept them as broadly accurate. In Professor Mosely's opinion, the Saburov figures are "generally in line with the high tempo of recovery and development which has been shown by the Soviet economy since 1947."

The plan adopted by the recent Communist Party Congress lays stress, for obvious military reasons, on the development of heavy industry. It foresees a 70 per cent advance for the whole Soviet industrial output, which means that by the end of 1955 production will be three times the pre-war figure. The planned increase in the production of coal is from 260,000,000 to 370,000,000 tons; of pig iron from 19,000,000 to 34,000,000 tons; and of crude steel from 27,000,000 to 44,000,000 tons. But as the *London Economist* (September 6, 1952)



observed, "The planned increase in oil production is the most spectacular target of the plan."

Figures on the military strength of the two blocs do not, of course, tell more than half the story. However, they can be useful both as a warning and for the purpose of calculations, provided the inevitable margin of error is borne in mind. Nobody outside Russia knows the precise size or strength of the Soviet armed forces, but the conventional estimate will serve as a basis for comparison. Experts usually quote a figure of 175 first-line and active divisions, a third of them armored or mechanized, which would give the Soviet army a total of 3,100,000 men. Adding a navy of 600,000 and an air force of 800,000, we arrive at a minimum figure of 4,500,000.

But these figures, which have lately been used in the most serious studies of Russian military power, do not take into account the almost unlimited possibility of accumulating trained reserves by accelerating the flow of men through the services. The population of Russia was put at 200,000,000 at the end of 1949 and is increasing, according to Deputy Premier Beria, by 3,000,000 a year.

To get a more precise idea of the balance of forces, let us consider one of the most acute danger spots in the present cold war, Germany. Until recently, Western planners assumed that the Russians no longer had the margin of superiority in Germany necessary to make a successful attack without substantially reinforcing their garrison in the Soviet zone. They counted on eighteen NATO divisions in West Germany: six American, five French, four British, and the others composed of Canadian and other European forces. Suddenly, only two weeks ago, the highest French military commander, Marshal Juin, declared that if the Russians were to march today, they would be in Paris within twenty-five days. Other Western experts dispute this. In any case, concepts of a line on the Elbe or on the Rhine, derived from the First World War and proved disastrous in the Second World War, are by now completely antiquated. Besides this, with war becoming ever more "total," the state of mind of the masses has become a vastly more important factor. The pro- and anti-war sentiment of the people, which the Russians are able to exploit through many avenues, has created a new situation.



Nor is Marshal Juin the only pessimist in NATO. Western statesmen and experts, in the process of urging a greater rearmament effort on the part of the West, talk of Russian strength with seemingly more conviction than the Russians themselves. On November 27, 1952, in an illustrated booklet "Let Freedom Ring," the American State Department estimated that the Russian bloc mustered a total of 491 army divisions stationed in Europe and Asia. At a press conference held in Paris in October the United States Secretary of the Navy, Dan A. Kimball, said that the Soviet Union had now about 300 submarines, four times as many as the Germans had at the outbreak of World War II. With regard to aviation, General Vandenberg has been repeatedly quoted as stressing Russian superiority. According to a recent official American estimate the Soviet Union produced probably twice as many aircraft in 1951 as the United States did in 1952. "The Soviet and satellite armed forces will add more trained men to their reserves in two years than Britain and the United States will add in three," wrote a British military expert in the *London Times* of October 7, 1952.

Figures on the strength of the entire Soviet bloc are

subject to the same margin of error as the figures on the strength of Russia itself. However, a scrupulous examination of all the published material, as well as of the data I have obtained by talking to experts, reveals a minimum total of 9,000,000 men under arms. This includes an estimated 1,130,000 men in the armies of the Eastern European Communist nations outside of Russia, as well as an estimated 2,300,000 in the field armies of Communist China.

As regards aviation, the current annual output of Soviet military aircraft is estimated at 11,000, that of armored fighting vehicles at 5,500. The Russians have apparently not yet been able to match United States and British designers in the development of jet-powered military aircraft, but they are reported by European experts to be working feverishly in that direction. Again figures are lacking. The Russians do not publicize each new advance in tactical and atomic weapons, as is customary in the United States. For example, they pointedly refrained from exhibiting their entire strength in the military parades held in Moscow on May 1 and in last fall's celebration of the October Revolution.

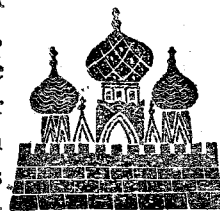
IN COMPARISON to the Soviet bloc's 9,000,000 men under arms, Western man-power consists of the 3,600,000 in the armed forces of the United States, plus the 2,400,000 (Hanson W. Baldwin's estimate) in the combined armies of the NATO countries in Europe. To this must be added a few hundred thousand troops represented by the South Korean army and various Allied forces in the Far East. Yugoslavia's 400,000 men should also be counted in.

But it is in divided Europe that the disparity between Eastern and Western man-power is most dramatic. As against the minimum of 230 divisions which the Soviet bloc could muster in Europe, the most the West could today put in the field, according to Baldwin, is approximately sixty full-strength divisions backed by some thirty-five weak reserve divisions. As for aviation, the number of planes assigned to NATO, plus others operating in Europe or from carriers in European waters, totals little more than 5,000, or the equivalent of a half-year's production by the Soviet Union.

Baldwin and others recognize Western naval superiority in over-all quantity and for certain types in quality. But Admiral Denfeld has warned: "Except in aircraft carriers, Russia is building to match us in surface ships."

On the basis of these figures and comments, all of them from Western sources, and given the political difficulties which the recent French political crisis has abundantly demonstrated and which will considerably retard the creation of a European army, it is quite impossible to see how within two years, or even three or four, the proportion of forces can be fundamentally altered in favor of the North Atlantic coalition. In the

very important statement mentioned above, Marshal Juin said that he saw no way of "meeting the Russian figures" unless the Lisbon program—already abandoned—were not only maintained but enlarged. Clearly he does not share the hopes of General Ridgway, who believes that aviation, and in particular tactical atomic aviation, offers a means of filling the gap between Western rearmament and that of the Soviet bloc. Hanson W. Baldwin, writing on the NATO crisis in the *New York Times* (January 12), seems to agree with Juin: "A sustained NATO defense," he says, "would be extremely difficult in the near future if not impossible, for nearly all of NATO's strength is in its show window." But most serious of all was Marshal Juin's comment



that he was unable to see how this state of affairs could be remedied by 1955 if NATO pursued its present course. The only available way "to fill the gap" would be by using American divisions. Since this would make the United States carry the heaviest military burden in Europe, as it already does in Korea, it is not a very enticing prospect for the American people. Again, Baldwin makes the point well:

Some of the principal nations of Europe are now claiming that even materially reduced objectives are beyond their capabilities. Others are still planning to achieve their original objectives by late 1954. But for many there is no firm completion date. Thus the future shape and complexion of the NATO armed forces are subject to major doubt. The military shoe is pinching Europe, and she does not want to wear it.

It is not only a question of numbers and of man-power. The new Five-Year Plan, the basis of Russia's military strength, makes an unprecedented effort to overcome the shortage of skilled labor which has consistently hampered Soviet plans in the past. Already trade, railroad, mining, and factory schools are turning out about 500,000 workers yearly. This will be reflected both in industrial output and in the increased efficiency of the army. One of the weaknesses which plagued Russia in the war against Germany, that in radio and wire communications, is now being remedied. Intensive effort is also being made to build up the fire power of Soviet army units in terms of accuracy. New arms are being created: for example, Russian-made 57-mm. recoil rifles, recently observed in action in Korea, give evidence of considerable improvement over the 1944 model.

In the light of these facts there seems to be no reason to believe that by 1955 the balance of military power will be so altered as to permit the Western bloc to dictate the terms of a general agreement to Russia. If the crucial date is put off to 1956 or 1957, the situation may be even less favorable to the West; it is more likely than

not that some of the NATO members will by then have wasted their economic substance in the long-continued rearmament effort. There still remains the hope of the bombs—little atom bombs, big atom bombs, the hydrogen bomb, and the as-yet-unnamed super-bomb which may be invented and made by that time. It is not my intention to base any conclusions on sensational guesses, but various reputable observers have warned the West against falling into the error, for the second time, of underestimating the Russians in the field of atomic production. One interesting report of this kind by the German atomic scientist, Dr. Paul Vossinger, appeared in the Swiss journal *Die Nation* of December 17, 1952. Vossinger, who recently fled from Russia via Manila and Colombo and is now in Trieste, described on the basis of considerable data Russia's atomic-war preparations in Kamchatka. This Swiss report is in line with the recent series of articles by the Alsop brothers on the hydrogen bomb.

I do not deny the reality of the dangers implicit in the new super-explosives. But this sort of reporting looks only to the Apocalypse, to a future of nothingness, a world in ashes; it has nothing to do with diplomacy or negotiation. If there is still any intention to negotiate some day, it is preferable to do so in 1953 rather than in 1955 or 1960. As we have seen, it is futile to hope that by waiting the proportion of strength between the Soviet bloc and the Western bloc will permit the West to settle the cold war by means of an ultimatum. Certainly the West has considerably increased its strength since 1950. Obviously it will be very much stronger in 1955. But the Soviet bloc will also be very much stronger by then. And if the balance of forces is not to shift decisively in favor of the West, the growing tension of the cold war will progressively reduce the chance of a settlement through negotiation. Once that chance is lost, we shall have to think about the Apocalypse in sober earnest.

Scientists in a Mad World

BY MAURICE B. VISSCHER

THE paramount ethical problem facing scientists today is what moral stand they should take in the crisis of freedom of thought and expression. I do not pose the problem in terms of civil liberties in general, for everyone is surfeited nowadays with talk about the virtues of freedom. I wish rather to stress the evils of our twentieth-century intellectual slavery, to analyze the background of the trouble in which scientists find themselves, and to consider what they must do to get out of it.

While the more literal-minded may object to my use of the term, I think we live in a psychotic world. I shall not try to prove that a majority of Americans, or Russians, are psychotic in a legal sense—we do not have enough insane asylums for the obviously psychotic, to say nothing of those who would be committed by my new definition. The really insane people, by my definition, are found in vociferous minority groups, and the great masses of people are putty in their hands, or, to mix the metaphor, sheep being stampeded by wolves.

The insanity abroad today is a sort of schizophrenia. The psychiatrists define that disease as "a psychosis characterized by lack of affect, inappropriate mood, un-

predictable behavior, and disintegration." They say further that it "frequently terminates in mental regression, total withdrawal from reality into fantasies, and paranoid formulations." The schizophrenic is a split or dual personality. He is frightened because he is never sure which of his mental processes are related to reality and which are hallucinations; since he cannot distinguish between dream and reality, the two have equal validity, and both therefore are worthless.

In the world today there are fairly large minority groups who show typical paranoid behavior. What is a paranoid like? A paranoid fixes upon some mere shred of reality or some pure fiction and builds up around it a great structure of threat to himself. He may imagine that some individual who he thinks dislikes him is planning to kill him. Or he may convince himself that the F. B. I. or the O. G. P. U. is tapping his telephone or has wired his room for sound recording. Or he may believe that some group of persons is "out to get him." The paranoid personality fabricates an unreal picture of a threat and reacts in violent and anti-social ways.

Numerous supposedly patriotic organizations and individuals in the United States are displaying paranoid behavior toward scientists. They are inducing large sections of the public to believe that the country is gravely threatened by the widespread disloyalty of its scientists and other scholars. Some have personal motives for falsifying issues; others are genuinely paranoid. They note that a few scientists—Dr. Alan Nunn May, a

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January 24, 1953

Proposals for Peace—V

BY GABRIELA MISTRAL

Peace can be born in the schools. As an old teacher I send you a few suggestions that could be applied in schools everywhere.

Pictures make a lasting impression on the minds of children under fourteen. Let the teachers collect photographs of the games children play in foreign countries—in North and South America, in Europe, Africa, and the Far East.

Have pupils sing the folk songs of other peoples—but not their war songs. A teacher should explain the words and talk about the historical events to which they are related.

At school fêtes let the children dress in the costumes of other countries, sing their songs, and play their games.

Devote one day each month to a foreign country. Tell the pupils stories of its real heroes—its peace-time heroes. The older children should also hear about some of the horrible instances of genocide and xenophobia.

Give a prize for the best "Hymn to Peace!"

[Gabriela Mistral is a Chilean teacher, diplomat, and poet. She has taught at Vassar and Columbia and has been attached to various Chilean consulates in Europe. Her poems have been published under the title "A Gabriela Mistral Anthology."]

Canadian; Klaus Fuchs, a British subject; and two or three Americans—have been convicted of betraying atomic-bomb secrets. Ignoring the fact that these four or five men are about a thousandth of one per cent of the scientists, technicians, and engineers in the countries concerned, they build up a case of imminent danger so great that to meet it they propose to destroy freedom of thought and expression for all scientists, and of course ultimately for everyone else. This is to be done by driving from their positions or discrediting all scientists and other scholars who express views out of harmony with those considered orthodox by the paranoid clique. Among the prominent scientists who have been treated in this way are Edward U. Condon, Linus Pauling, Harlow Shapley, and Kirtley Mather. I mention these names because the attacks upon them have been front-page news. Literally hundreds of others have been exposed to abuse without their cases getting headline billing. The consequence, as intended, has been to discourage others from committing the folly of holding and expressing independent opinions.

No American scientist in a really responsible position has been shown to have been disloyal to the country. A small number of minor technicians have been convicted of the crime. It was the scientists themselves who set

up machinery during World War II to prevent leakage of information of military value. The great noise made about the supposed disloyalty of scientists as a group is certainly an exhibition of paranoia unless the persons bringing the charges are totally dishonest, and I do not believe this is true of the majority.

The stigmata of insanity in the United States are unmistakable. What is the situation in the rest of the world? In Russia and its satellite states the disease is apparently in a much more aggravated stage. In those countries instead of unreasoning fear there is panic. While here non-conformists are in general simply being intimidated, there they are likely to be liquidated. However, the less violent case is not necessarily less insane or less subject to progressive deterioration. That, indeed, is the great danger.

Schizophrenics suffer from mental regression. They lose their minds, to put it bluntly. We in this country are losing our minds as a result of our hallucinations, delusions of danger, and general withdrawal from reality. In our insane desire to remove the imaginary threat to our security offered by the imaginary perfidy of our scientists, we are adopting the worst features of a totalitarian state and are stultifying our scientific free enterprise. In other words, we are proceeding along the road of insanity to suicide as a nation of free men.

IF ALL this is true, what can scientists do to arouse the paranoids from their nightmares before it is too late? Time is flying, and our cherished freedoms of thought and expression will not last long if the hallucinatory states of powerful minorities persist. Moreover, the quality of our scientific professional work is bound to suffer, since few intelligent men or women will choose a career that is in disgrace or under suspicion. Even now some of the best brains cannot be used because they are unjustly suspected of potential disloyalty.

One thing is clear: scientists should use the scientific method in their own thinking about the problem. They should discover and present verifiable facts. They should demand to be heard, and they should take the offensive rather than accept a false defensive position. The current paranoia is not going to be cured by false admissions of guilt. Such "confessions" are supposed to be the specialty of dictatorships, not of democracies. And our democracy will not long survive if Americans accept supinely the methods of dictators. Scientists and all scholars have a special obligation to society in these matters. Scientists in particular are devoted to the task of advancing verifiable knowledge. Are we going to allow our country to deteriorate into an asylum for regimented psychopaths? Are we so fearful that some paranoid may attack us individually or collectively that we will submit to permanent loss of freedom?

The scholars most likely to get in trouble in the

United States today are those who hold views contrary to the views of the psychotic fringe in one of several areas. The most important is the area of economic theory. Any supporter of socialism or even of consumer cooperatives must expect to be labeled a Communist and thus a person to be purged. Another area is that of philosophy. Any scientist or other scholar whose views on the nature of the world and man lead him to an agnostic or non-theistic position is linked with dialectical materialism and therefore damned. A third area has to do with attitudes toward war and peace. Pacifists and persons seeking alternatives to war are accused of being promoters of Russian imperialist aims and so discredited.

None of these areas are the concern of scientists only. Why then, one may ask, should scientists, as scientists, be singled out for persecution? For the very simple reason that modern warfare is essentially applied science. Scientists are being attacked because secrecy is so important in atomic, biological, and chemical warfare, in radar, jet propulsion, guided missiles, and space-ship design—to mention a few of the pleasantries of modern methods of warfare.

Science as an enterprise cannot flourish when scientists are looked upon with a mixture of awe and distrust. The strength of the Western world surely is based upon superior technology, which in turn rests upon scientific development. In a world of slaves there is no obvious reason why one set of slaves should be more productive than another. Lack of freedom, wherever it exists, promotes mediocrity, and mediocrity means stagnation and weakness.

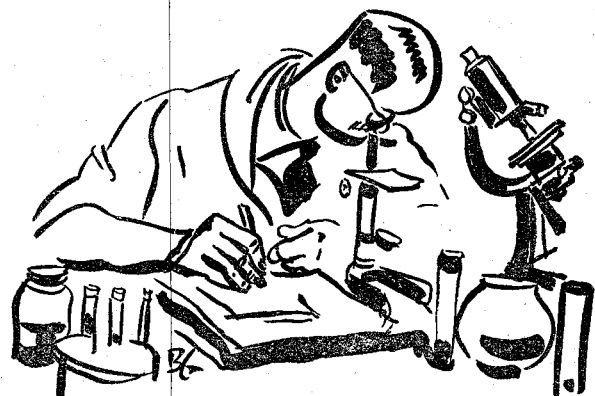
A catalogue of the measures used to intimidate scientists and other scholars makes dreary reading, but it should be recounted. First, there are the dragnet activities of the federal and state un-American-activities committees. These depend on the power of suspicion and unsupported charges, the fear of unintended perjury, and the technique of condemnation by accusation. Second, there are the so-called loyalty tests to determine fitness to hold positions in teaching, research, and administrative work. Third, there is the refusal of passports for foreign travel, a new development but one which under the McCarran act will probably be much more widely used in the future. Finally there are the entirely extra-legal measures which are as dangerous as the legal ones. Some flag-waving scandal sheet, wishing to attack certain individuals or institutions, suggests that they are subversive, and millions of people assume that the charge is valid. Under American law individuals have almost no protection against insinuated libel.

What can be done to stem the rising tide of anti-intellectualism in America? (I assume that we are powerless to do anything about the even worse situation in Spain, Russia, and some other countries.) Individuals, I am convinced, can do little or nothing; only large and

respected organizations can get results. I refer to such organizations as the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the National Academy of Sciences. The A. A. S. has allowed several of its past presidents to be slandered without adequate reaction. The National Academy as an organization has been silent while many of its members have been vilified and the body of scientists at large harassed. To be sure, its officers have worked hard in various ways to influence government officials, but their efforts have not been effective. The problem is too deep-rooted to be solved by conferences between a few scholars and a few well-meaning officials.

I would urge that the A. A. S., speaking for all scientists, and the N. A. S., speaking for the elder statesmen of science, make the problem of anti-intellectualism their concern. I feel sure that if they attack the virus with all their strength they will succeed in checking its inroads. Soft talk will not be enough. A resolution of censure solemnly passed by the A. A. S. or the N. A. S. would be laughed at by the paranoid fringe. The only language they understand is action. The A. A. S. and the N. A. S. will have to undertake an educational campaign among the people. Spearheaded by organizations of great prestige, an educational drive might yet save the day. A few years ago the American Medical Association assessed its members \$25 apiece to finance an educational campaign against socialized-medicine legislation. While self-interest played a large role in its popularity with physicians, the venture achieved its objectives in large part.

Would there not be much more support for an educational campaign to protect the principle of free-enterprise in ideas? Who but a schizophrenic or a criminal could possibly condemn it? Our country is great, the Western world is great, to the degree that such free traffic in ideas is a reality. I suggest that one method of preventing the destruction of free thought would be for the A. A. S. to impose an assessment on its members for an extensive educational program to enlighten the public about the case for freedom. I would call it the A. A. S. Fund for Education in Free Enterprise in Scientific Thought.



POINT 4—FOUR YEARS LATER

II. The Permanent Sabotage

BY PETER WEISS

WITH \$340,000,000 appropriated by Congress for the current fiscal year for economic and technical aid to Asia, the Near East, and Latin America, Point Four today is more than a phrase in an inaugural speech. At the same time the technical-assistance program of the United Nations, although its budget is only \$20,000,000 for the same period, is becoming so important that David Owen recently relinquished his post of Assistant Secretary General for Economic Affairs to spend all his energies on coordinating it with the parallel activities of the specialized agencies.

The enthusiasm generated by these programs is understandable, but it is also dangerous, for it obscures the fact that the gulf between the world's haves and have-nots is widening every year. Technical assistance is only a relatively minor aspect of economic development. The demands of the underdeveloped countries for concerted action by the great powers to provide the substance as well as the trappings of progress have been consistently repulsed. Public indifference to these demands is indicative of our present shocking habit of being interested in issues chiefly for their relevance to the fight against communism. We ignore Iraq's opinion of the World Bank because it tells us nothing of the strength, if any, of Iraq's Communist Party; Chile's pleas for a campaign against world poverty are dismissed because they do not presage the defection of that country into the enemy camp. For the past five years Congress and our representatives in the United Nations have told the spokesmen of the less fortunate members of the world community that they sympathize with their plight but can do nothing much about it until the Russian menace is somehow disposed of. Piecemeal, palliative measures have been substituted for a real attack on the problem.

The open debate on economic development began in the United Nations in 1947 after various efforts to provide aid on a large scale had failed. First, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was scuttled by the United States and England in 1946. UNRRA by then had won the loyalty of millions of human beings around the globe. It had, furthermore, become the nucleus of a world development agency. Its

relief functions were admittedly temporary, but the line between rehabilitation and development is tenuous. Its Chinese program, especially, was paving the way for a general attack on economic backwardness. Had the organization been continued, it would naturally have taken over the execution of an international development program.

Second, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which only the most unsophisticated observers consider international in control as well as in name, sorely disappointed its Asian and Latin American members by appropriating, during the first two years of operation, \$497,000,000 for Europe and only \$16,000,000 for all the underdeveloped regions. The proportion has changed somewhat since then in favor of the underdeveloped countries, but it is clear that the World Bank is first and foremost a bank and intends to remain that way.

Third, plans to establish in 1949 an International Trade Organization were abandoned. In this country the proposed I. T. O. was regarded mainly as a kind of international anti-trust division, but to the representatives of underdeveloped countries who participated in its organizational meetings it meant more than that. Article III of the final version of the charter declared that the I. T. O. should assist member nations in the formulation of industrial and general economic development plans and cooperate with the U. N. Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and other inter-governmental agencies on all phases of such development, and particularly in respect of finance, equipment, technical assistance, and managerial skill. This was not the least reason for the failure of Congress to authorize American participation in the I. T. O. Like the World Bank, the I. T. O. was a potential instrument for carrying out a program of world economic development; both were prevented from doing so, largely by the United States.

In March, 1947, the Economic and Social Council requested its newly established Economic and Employment Commission to consider international measures to speed economic development, and the commission assigned that task to a Subcommittee on Economic Development, four of whose seven members came from underdeveloped countries. After a month of deliberations the subcommittee reported that it considered industrialization the key to economic development. While recognizing the important contributions the underdeveloped countries

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could make toward their own progress, it declared: "An examination of the main sources of international loans for development indicates that the total volume of funds is entirely inadequate to the needs. If economic development is to progress more rapidly during the next few years, a larger and better-regulated flow of foreign funds than is currently available will have to be promoted by and through international agencies working within the framework of the United Nations." The subcommission also sharply criticized the World Bank for its failure to make the funds at its disposal available for development projects and recommended that "immediate international provision be made for . . . underdeveloped countries by way of finance, food, and equipment."

THESE views proved extremely unpopular among the Western members of the Economic and Employment Commission. Instead of accepting the subcommission's report as that of a fact-finding, non-political body of experts, the delegates of Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States dissented vigorously from its conclusions and particularly from its emphasis on industrialization and the need for international financial action. Since the underdeveloped countries were in the minority, the commission confined itself to urging that individual member countries with adequate productive capacities take steps to speed the economic development of underdeveloped countries.

The subject has been debated in countless sessions in half a dozen other U. N. agencies and has produced no fewer than sixteen resolutions urging further study of the question of how to finance development plans, but the arguments have remained substantially unchanged. The underdeveloped countries have called attention to their plight and warned of the consequences of inaction for world peace and stability. They have taken turns reciting the catalogue of inequalities until the figures have lost their power to shock. Having resigned themselves to the idea that they will get no financial help from the West until defense expenditures begin to taper off, they are now fighting a holding action, defending the principle of international action for economic development until those with the means to implement the principle will no longer have an excuse for disregarding it.

Under the leadership of the United States the West has used these debates as training in the fine art of evading an issue while appearing to meet it. It has evolved a store of procedural devices—the subcommission-to-make-a-detailed-study-, the referral-back-for-re-examination-in-the-light-of-new-recommendations, the request-to-the-Secretary-General-to-report-next-year-on-steps-to-be-taken, and the resolution-approving-in-principle-but-urging-caution-in-fact—and displayed such ingenuity in their use that one is forced to wonder whether the new diplomacy is any improvement over the old.

All the talk, however, has not been in vain. The U. N., much to the discomfort of its Western members, is now on record as indorsing the principle of an International Development Fund. How this indorsement was obtained is an interesting story, confounding all who take a too simple view of the U. N., whether it be the Americans who think it represents the free world united for peace, with a few noisy obstructionists in its midst, or the Russians for whom it means Uncle Sam bullying a covey of

obedient slaves, with none but the people's democracies to speak up for justice.

The proposal was first made by V. K. Rao of India, chairman of the Subcommission on Economic Development. In the subcommission's third report to the Economic and Employment Commission in 1949, Mr. Rao offered a fairly detailed plan for the establishment of a new international agency, to be called, appropriately, UNEDA (United Nations Economic Development Authority), whose main function would be to grant and administer long-term development loans for non-



V. K. Rao

self-liquidating projects. The Economic and Employment Commission, with its majority of developed countries, was so outraged at this idea that it recommended to ECOSOC, not the establishment of UNEDA, but the abolition of the Subcommission on Economic Development—this was continued, however, for two more sessions.

Mr. Rao's proposal was revived in October, 1950, by Mr. Ali of Pakistan, who suggested in the Economic and Financial Committee of the General Assembly that the recently established Technical Assistance Board should be complemented by a Financial Assistance Board which would administer funds raised from three sources—long-term government loans, contributions by private foundations, and the sale of long-term, low-interest bonds to individuals all over the world. Mr. Ali's plan was enthusiastically approved by India, Mexico, Chile, the Philippines, Yemen, Iraq, and Yugoslavia. The response from Europe and the United States was such that Mr. Ali did not even submit a formal resolution.

On May 21, 1951, Western double-talk was stopped by the U. N.'s publication of the now classic report on Measures for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries. The authors were five experts appointed by the Secretary General, among whom were

Professor Arthur Lewis of the University of Manchester [author of the next article in this series—EDITORS] and Professor Theodore Schultz of the University of Chicago. They estimated, with apologies for rough guessing, that to raise the national income of underdeveloped countries by 2 per cent a year would require an annual investment of \$19 billion, well over half of which would have to be, and could be, furnished by the more developed countries. They also recommended the establishment by the U. N. of an International Development Authority to assist the underdeveloped countries in carrying out their development programs and to distribute to them grants-in-aid for specific purposes.

The experts' report drew sharp criticism from the representatives of developed countries on the Economic and Employment Commission, which was finally renamed Economic, Employment, and Development Commission in gracious recognition of the problem. But it encouraged Mr. Santa Cruz of Chile, who was the chief spokesman of the underdeveloped countries in this fight, to depart from diplomatic precedent in his opening address as president of the thirteenth session of ECOSOC, July 30, 1951. Instead of indulging in meaningless generalities Mr. Santa Cruz pictured the "utterly depressing" economic and social outlook before the world caused by the switch-over from peaceful endeavor to a vast war effort. He went on to recall that for two years the underdeveloped countries had been offered only "preliminary studies" emphasizing the gravity of the problem and recommending that they put their own houses in order and encourage the influx of foreign capital. The work of ECOSOC, he said, had been

vitiating by the adoption of resolutions designed to satisfy the countries likely to bear the major responsibility for implementation. Demanding an end to "facile compromise solutions," Mr. Santa Cruz submitted his own proposal for the establishment of a "United Nations Authority for Production and Plenty," designed to increase consuming power by giving technical and financial assistance to member nations and to facilitate the interchange of products.

ECOSOC went on record in its thirteenth session as neither approving nor disapproving the principle of an International Development Authority. At the following session of the General Assembly in January, 1952, a resolution favoring the authority was lost by a narrow margin, but another one, indorsing the principle of an International Development Fund to administer long-term loans and grants for economic development on terms more liberal than those of the World Bank, was adopted by a vote of thirty to sixteen, with the United States and the NATO countries opposing and the Communist bloc abstaining. The underdeveloped countries consider this a substantial victory and attribute little importance to the change in nomenclature.

At its fourteenth session, which ended in New York last August, ECOSOC directed the Secretary General to appoint a committee of nine experts to draw up a blueprint for the new International Development Fund and submit it to ECOSOC's next session, scheduled for April, 1953. These experts have just begun their deliberations. The task they face is nothing less than to devise a way to mobilize for peace the energies and resources now being spent on preparations for war.

Socialist Bridge to Asia

BY ANDREW ROTH

London

GIVING his comment the revealing heading "Asians Need That Attlee Touch," Francis Williams, *News Chronicle* columnist, rated the Attlee visit to Rangoon as important as Churchill's visit to New York and Washington. "If the policies that the United States follows in the next four years or so," he said, "are of predominant importance to the struggle for democracy in the world . . . the course taken by the still free nations of Asia is likely in the long run to be of hardly less significance to the outcome of that struggle." The words have weight coming from Attlee's former public-relations officer, an authoritative labor publicist.

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Attlee's visit to Rangoon was important on two counts. First, as the man who transferred sovereignty to India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Burma, he had the ear of many South Asian leaders and succeeded in strengthening their ties with the West. Second, his influence helped to keep the Asian Socialists linked with the European Socialists. Thus they can serve as an alternative channel for Western policy when other channels are drying up.

In a memorandum prepared three months before Attlee left for Rangoon, Morgan Phillips, British chairman of the Socialist International, warned against the possible emergence of "two Socialist Internationals divided, in effect, on racial lines." He expressed the hope that "from the forthcoming Rangoon conference of Asian Socialist parties an Asian grouping will emerge as the focus of socialism in Asia."

That is virtually what happened at Rangoon last week. A plenary session held in the closing days of the conference unanimously adopted a resolution creating an Asian Socialist organization which would "establish liaison with the Socialist International." The resolution specifically provided that members of the new Asian organization could also be members of the international body. Three Asian groups—the Israeli Socialists and the right-wing and left-wing Japanese Socialists—have been members of the International for some time and under the new set-up will remain so.

In dealing with the difficult question of "neutralism"—favored strongly by some of the left-wing groups—the conference after lengthy debate adopted a carefully worded resolution which read in part:

The independent position of the Asian countries and their freedom of movement with regard to the problems of world peace do not mean ideological neutralism or any policy of sacrificing the liberty of other peoples or nations to one's own selfish interests.

Other parts of the resolution strongly supported democracy and the basic freedoms as against totalitarian systems.

ATTLEE's trip is a measure of the new regard in which Asian Socialists are held in the West, particularly in Britain. Only a few years ago the prevailing feeling was very different. At the end of 1949 when I was in Bengal, Jai Prakash Narain, the Indian Socialist leader, told me sadly that the British Labor Party had repulsed the Indian Socialists' request that it send a delegate to their annual conference. The Labor Party explained this "brush off" by saying it did not want to jeopardize its friendship with Pandit Nehru by sending a representative to a meeting of what had become an opposition party. Little more than three years later the Labor Party asked its seventy-year-old leader, described by Francis Williams as "the most trusted of all European leaders," to make a strenuous 18,000-mile trip to gain the friendship of Asian Socialist parties once rebuffed or ignored.

This new interest in overseas Socialist parties has developed among such insular British Laborites as Herbert Morrison, the former Foreign Minister, for quite practical reasons. During the crisis in Iran, Britain's traditional allies there—the army and the palace—proved inadequate. Finding he must choose between Dr. Mossadegh



Clement Attlee

and the Communists, Mr. Morrison moaned to his colleagues, "If only there were a Persian Labor Party!"

That Britain could profit from the growth of Socialist parties in South Asia was stressed in a dispatch from Hongkong which was prominently displayed in the *London Times* of January 5. The *Times* correspondent said that while democratic socialism no longer had a chance in China, Korea, or Indo-China, where political forces had polarized into right and left extremes, in Japan and particularly in South Asia it was "a political philosophy which still has the field before it." He continued:

There is one distinction which must be made for socialism in Asia, in the present world context. Its sources are exclusively European, it is not linked to Russia, and it does not look for nourishment to the United States. . . . It seems . . .

to many observers of the Asian scene that the only workable solution for the development of economic resources in the newer nations of East Asia is, broadly, a Socialist one, for such a solution offers a desirable satisfaction to nascent nationalism, while avoiding the sometimes inefficient and sometimes undesirable practices of an immature capitalist class.

Mr. Attlee, then, can be said to have been reinforcing Britain's second line of defense. All British leaders have some grasp of the decisive importance of South Asia. It is not only a major market and source of raw materials; it is also an area of influence which enables Britain to describe itself as a world power and which it can use in bargaining with the United States. Thus when Britain does not want to accept an American policy it can always say, "Nehru won't swallow that." The loss of South Asia would mean the immediate decline of Britain from its present second-class to third-class status and tip the world balance of power.

Both Labor and Conservative statesmen feel that one of the great weaknesses of South Asia is the lack of constructive leadership. Ruling groups to which it would have been "safe" enough to transfer power in 1947-48 have not been able to retain popular support. The Conference of Economic Experts convened by the Socialist International in Vienna in November, 1951, complained that "difficult problems are raised by the existence of corrupt and reactionary governments in some of the independent countries" in the so-called underdeveloped areas.

In view of the mounting opposition to the conservative-nationalist governments in office in most of South

Asia, British leaders of both parties want to see a safe alternative party emerging. With regard to India, they feel little confidence that Pandit Nehru will succeed in raising living standards, and if the Congress government falls, they hope to see a moderate Socialist regime take its place. The Manchester *Guardian* said on January 6:

The Asian Socialists are less likely than some of the Nationalist and religious leaders to be lured away from the hard and sustained effort which will be needed [in the field of] technical education and assistance to the peasant . . . by the temptation to appeal to the superstitions and emotions of the masses.

I Have a Thing to Tell You

BY RUTH ELIZABETH CRAWFORD

[The author of this article was for five years a public-information officer for the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund and before that served in a similar capacity in the United States Children's Bureau. Immediately after her appearance before the McCarran committee, described in the article, she offered to resign her United Nations post, an offer which she subsequently withdrew in order to establish, through a proper hearing, her legal and moral fitness to continue in her job. This hearing was denied her by the United Nations administration, which urged instead that she again offer to resign. When she refused, she was formally dismissed on January 7 by the Secretary General in "the best interests of the United Nations."

Miss Crawford is appealing her dismissal on the ground that she is being made to suffer for her political opinions. As part of her defense she plans to invoke for the first time in such a case Article 19 of the United Nations' own Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression. This right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

Miss Crawford's name did not appear on the list of American personnel in the United Nations upon whom the State Department had made adverse comment.]

ON THE night of October 14 last I was ordered by telegram, along with other Americans employed by the United Nations, to appear the next day before the McCarran committee to answer questions about my past employment and political affiliations.

By noon of the fifteenth I had answered—or admitted or asserted, as the interpretation may be—that seventeen years ago I had been for a year or more a member of the Communist Party of the United States, that I was at the moment a member of the Progressive Party, and that I received the publications of several specified organizations and was in sympathy with their objectives. I had further described eleven years of employment with the United States government and five years with the United Nations.

It seems to me now that all that had ever happened to me was brought together at the moment when I had to answer the fateful question: "Are you, or were you ever,

a member of the Communist Party?" At that moment I joined the ever-growing number of Americans who have been brought to account for their political beliefs. Of us, to borrow from Thomas Wolfe, *I have a thing to tell you*. That is the title of a story Wolfe wrote about his experience in Germany among the hunters and the hunted in the years just before the Second World War.

I chose to answer the questions put to me in the courtroom. I know that I might have invoked the Fifth Amendment. I think those who do so are protecting a great principle: the Fifth Amendment, I learned in my need, is the only barrier between you and the invasion of your constitutional rights. Perhaps I was tired, tired of being asked a question which I thought no one had the right to ask me in the first place. For as an American did I not have the right to belong to any legally constituted party I chose? So I answered, "Yes."

"I never felt so American," I told a friend after I left the witness stand, "as I did answering those questions." And to myself I said, "*They* don't need to be ashamed of me." By *they* I meant all the living and dead who have influenced my life and made me the person who answered the questions as I did that day.

There was my father, an old man now, whose people have been in this country since before it was a country. One of his ancestors, "a man named Stowe or Stow," cast the Liberty Bell. "I admired you for not giving any names," my father wrote me. There was my mother, who had tried to teach her children "to do what was right." There were the public-school teachers who had taught me about my American heritage. There were the Methodist Sunday School teachers who, believing, had taught us the Golden Rule. And there were those I knew through books—Longfellow, Whittier, Emerson, William Cullen Bryant, and in later years Dreiser, Sherwood Anderson, Alfred Kreymborg, and Carl Sandburg.

In the courtroom with me were the men and women I had known as a young reporter on the newspaper in Terre Haute, Indiana. Eugene Debs, home from prison, was a fellow-townsmen; some of my friends had been his friends. "I missed much in life that other men have had," one of them once wrote to me, "but this much I

can say: I knew Eugene Debs." In Terre Haute then the thing to be fought was the Ku Klux Klan, and I still remember the courage of those who fought it in the churches, the school board, the city council.

In this remembering I come now to the '30's. Many who today are being asked the crucial question were young adults then with backgrounds similar to mine. We were brought up in a liberal, humanitarian tradition; we knew Socialists, pacifists, anarchists, I. W. W.'s, single-taxers, and Communists—the last drawing their recruits from the other groups. Roger Baldwin came to our town and spoke of civil liberties. We knew and admired Clarence Darrow. We knew people who had been in the fight to save the lives of "the good shoemaker and the poor fish-peddler." (It was the Sacco-Vanzetti case that first taught me that even the courts can be tragically wrong.)

Then came the depression. In my home state of Indiana deep veins of coal lie under rich farm lands, but miners' children went hungry while farmers burned corn in their kitchen stoves. In New York a newspaperman described to me how mounted police clubbed and rode down the leaders of a demonstration of the unemployed; "The place looked like a battlefield," he said.

THE McCarran committee asked who had "invited" me to join the Communist Party. The truth is that I invited myself, moved as I was by anger and frustration at the things that were happening. I wanted to help those who were doing something to stop these outrages. The day I stepped from the curb to join unemployed demonstrators was the day my decision was made. My joining the party was no secret. I registered as a Communist—the party was then on the ballot in New York; I served as a watcher at the polls. "You ought not to have put down that you were a Communist," the Democratic watcher said. "You might get in trouble over that some day."

Common Sense from Canada

Ottawa, January 9.—Hon. Lester B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, at a press conference today was asked if Canada intended to do as the United States is doing in screening some forty of her United Nations employees.

"We have never taken the position in this country that a Canadian working for the United Nations is the responsibility of Canada," Mr. Pearson said. "It is the responsibility of the United Nations. We don't recommend Canadians for United Nations appointments. They are not appointed with our knowledge or consent, which is quite proper. We have never been asked to screen Canadians who are taking United Nations jobs for security purposes."—*From the Toronto Daily Star.*

I have been in trouble over that ever since, as have so many others. I have been more fortunate than most, for during this period I have been able to work at jobs for which I was qualified by my training and talents and to which I could apply myself with zeal and conviction. What I did as an employee of the United States government and of the United Nations is an open record, but no one now thinks to ask how well I did my work. On the contrary, that I should have been so employed at all is now part of the offense: I was "undermining" my government by working for it, and I was disloyal to my government by working for the United Nations. The truth is that for my government I worked with a sense that nothing less than the best was good enough; my coworkers were some of the finest men and women I ever knew and shared my sense of responsibility. As for my employment with the United Nations, I counted it the greatest privilege possible to work for something in which the world has placed so much hope.

I always knew that one day, somewhere, somehow, my time would come as it had come for so many others who had been members of the Communist Party and for many who had not been. There is nothing you can do but wait. So I waited, and when my time came I saw in horror that my past affiliation was going to be used as part of an attack upon the United Nations. Whatever the intent, that has been the result. The hearings and their aftermath are now a matter of public record, and included is the suicide of the chief counsel of the United Nations, an American who was obliged to see one after the other of his associates take the witness stand and walk out of the courtroom with his work at an end.

For myself, my greatest immediate worry after the hearings were over was their possible effect upon my parents. I called them, and they told me the news was coming to them over the radio. Someone—may he ever be thanked—had come to be with them. "It will soon be over," he had reassured them. "It's just the politicians making trouble."

I thought of my colleagues at the United Nations and of my former coworkers in the government. I thought of the people who had given me jobs and of what might be brought down upon them through me. Would they understand?

That night I received the first of many telegrams and letters. "Cheers and sympathy!" it read. Perhaps I had not done too badly, after all. And indeed, of all the communications I have received only two attacked me; the others conveyed support and offers of help. A lawyer, a stranger to me, wrote forcefully of the "terrible consequences that result from failing to stand up for principles, from hesitating to assert and advocate one's opinions." A Quaker friend wrote: "Please tell me if there is anything I can do to help so I won't feel so guilty. For the thing is, as everyone must be telling you,

there but for the grace of God go I; any of us of liberal tendencies might be there in Foley Square."

Many of the letters expressed fear for the future. And well they might. I have much to fear now. How will I, as a writer, now make my living? To use a pseudonym means starting all over again. And suppose I were found out? Where shall I live? I must always be careful not to embarrass friends. One message, sent through a mutual friend, requested me not to come there any more—"I hope she will understand . . . if I could do her any good . . . but I have my job and the children to think of." I must think of many things in order to protect my friends and acquaintances. I mustn't put my name and address on a letter. Better not give a check. Better not leave my name with a telephone message. Is my mail being watched? It must be, else how did my questioners know what kind of publications I was receiving?

These are fears that I, as a free-born American, have come to know. Nevertheless, I am a free-born American, and in a strange way I have been given back the freedom which I, like many others, was letting go, surrendering to this monstrous thing that is trying to tell us what we may read, what we may hear, what political party we may belong to, and with whom we may associate.

I shall fight that fear with affirmation, for I have a great birthright, the value of which I never really knew until I stood with only that birthright as my protection. Yes, I did belong to the Communist Party, as was my right. I now belong to the Progressive Party, as is my right. In future years I shall belong to the political party of my own choosing, as I hope will still be my right. Yes, I do receive the publications of organizations that, in the opinion of some, are subversive, but I have given no one the right to make that decision for me. My right so to decide, I believe, was given me by the First Amendment—the first of ten amendments, it is well to remember, that were put there by the people to protect their rights against the Congress. *Congress shall make no law*—these are the opening words.

So I do not apologize. I apologize to my fellow-Americans only for the times when I have not fully exercised those rights, when I kept silent though I might have spoken, when I stayed away from protest meetings because it was not safe to go, when I read furtively what someone had the courage to print openly. Like them, I was afraid—and because we were afraid this thing has happened which threatens our free America. That America to me is the realm of the mind which is free to follow after truth wherever it may be found, whether it be in the field of government, of science, of education, or the arts. For it is only by seeking the truth and acting upon it that we are free to serve the best interests of our own country and the world. So acting we shall find that the interests of the two—the United States of America and the United Nations—are the same.

Giving Wolves an Appetite

BY ELMER DAVIS

IT PROMISES to be a merry winter for our colleges and universities, for at least two and probably three Congressional committees are going after them . . . and the competition will be lively. The winner, of course, will be the one who can put the finger on the largest number, not of Communists, but of people who he says are Communists or something like it. . . .

McCarthy has broadened the field; he says he would rather say he is looking for Communist thinkers than for Communists. This of course is a conveniently vague phrase; you don't have to have any proof that a man is a Communist, only that you think he thinks like a Communist. . . .

All these committees are aware that their investigations may meet with objections on the ground that they are interfering with academic freedom. *Not* if they hit real Communists; as Senator McCarthy correctly says, a Communist has no freedom of thought. But when you go after people whom you choose to regard as Communist thinkers—perhaps because they believe in public housing or have failed to manifest sufficient enthusiasm for Chiang Kai-shek—then there may be protests in the name of academic freedom. Well, what is academic freedom? The McCarran committee today publishes a definition by J. B. Matthews, a specialist on communism for the Hearst newspapers, who has been around as a denouncer for some years past. Academic freedom, he says, is something under which a very large number of our colleges and universities permit the employment of men who are subversive in their activities. Who says their activities are subversive? Matthews. He has told the trustees of their universities about them and apparently the trustees didn't believe him. Which raises a dreadful suspicion; could trustees be subversive, too?

Now, nobody wants Communists teaching in universities. But these procedures promise to hit, not Communists, but people whom somebody doesn't like and chooses to call Communists. It would be a tough winter for American education if there were even one investigation operating on the principle that Congress must see that colleges and universities implant only what Congress regards as sound ideas. But with three sets of investigators competing for the headlines, and measuring their success by the number of people they can name as Communist thinkers, it will be a very tough winter. If we come through it without too much damage, it will only be if university presidents realize that you never get anywhere with people like this by running away from them; that it is no good throwing one innocent man to the wolves to save the others. You only give the wolves an appetite.—*Excerpt from a broadcast over ABC on December 29, 1952.*

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

POEMS . . . BY W. R. RODGERS*

The Airman

Afterwards he may take thought
And Praise, who now may not
Move farther than the moment's jot.
Afterwards who lives may dare
To stop and spit and backward stare
Up at the proved and friendly air.
But not now, no, not now: who knows
Which moment falls the forward rose?
What hole may open at the feet
Of him who boasts himself complete?
Or whose the mercy, whose the might
Sustains the tight-rope of his flight?
His armor's to be unespied,
Therefore he strips off all his pride,
Assumes the cerements of air
That has no here, and owns no there.
Then should death meet him it will see
Nothing but clear neutrality,
And, gazing still, its eyes will pass
Purely through him as if through glass.
And yet, compulsive and complete,
His fate caves darkly at his feet;
Far in the bottoms of the world
His path is smoothed, his pit is curled.
Oh, long the flight but short the spill
That lands the cock on his dunghill.
Balanced on searchlight-tip his plane
May glint like tinsel, fall like rain:
Wadded in fluffy salvos he
May see the silent blood flow free:
And look! Out of the blue unrolls
His vapory bandage, scrolls on scrolls
Of lightest linen following fast
As if to fold and overcast.
Then praise not now his skill or nerve
Who knows how errors made him swerve
From his dead reckonings that must
Have milled and ground him into dust.
He knows the smooth handrail of flight
Has stuttering verticals of fright;
Lives by death's negligence and not
By any guards the gods allot.
To meet with all but go with none
That is his fate whose single fun

And only ease is to be found
Upon the bosom of the round
And randy air: to it he'll give
Up everything that he may live.
Then keep your praise, nor ask him why
He pierces you with pin-sight eye;
Nor smile compliantly when he
Fobs-off applause, for yours may be
The grin that will precipitate
The gravelly avalanche of fate.
Gravely each night he raises hell,
And he has seen great Gabriel
Jog God's elbow, bid Him look
Up from His absorbing Book
To—absentmindedly—admire
The rhododendron banks of fire
Flowering from roots that upward point
Their pleading hands, all out of joint,
Till God, replete with sacrifice,
Rubs planes like motes out of His eyes.

Afterwards he may take thought
And praise, who now may not
Move farther than the moment's jot.
Meanwhile within the mindless deep
Of his humility he'll keep
A waking seed of self that will
One day dance on every hill.
These are dead men; like seed they fly
Widely on every wind, and die
Into their pride that there may grow
More humility below:
Not till that tuberos trumpet breaks the clay
Will they rise up, their resurrection day.

The Fall

O Angel of the ledges of our dread
On whose jellied edges each joy is dandled
Gently, like danger—now, like daws on trees
Unbalancing, turn our dread into ease
And let the fall open our wings' eyes wide
In wonder at ourselves who were so slow
To float out on the rootless raft of air
With flowing hold.
The fall! the fall, from that safe tree
Of love we so much feared to leave, elates
And lifts our other selves to life. Only
By daring do we learn our manyness.

*These poems by Mr. Rodgers will appear in a volume entitled "Europa and the Bull," to be published by Farrar, Straus, and Young on February 18.

January 24, 1953

Safety stints us, turns us to stone, to one.
 This always-gibbering between fear and hope
 Doubles our life, and is the bloody pulse
 Of every vein. O angel of our dread,
 Delicately cater for us rough feeders
 Who ask a stone; and duly give us bread.

Carol

Deep in the fading leaves of night
 There lay the flower that darkness knows,
 Till winter stripped and brought to light
 The most incomparable Rose
 That blows, that blows.

The flashing mirrors of the snow
 Keep turning and returning still:
 To see the lovely child below
 And hold him is their only will;
 Keep still, keep still.

And to let go his very cry
 The clinging echoes are so slow
 That still his wail they multiply
 Though he lie singing now below,
 So low, so low.

Even the doves forget to grieve
 And gravely to his greeting fly
 And the lone places that they leave
 All follow and are standing by
 On high, on high.

French Democracy

DEMOCRACY IN FRANCE: THE THIRD AND FOURTH REPUBLICS. By David Thomson. Second Edition. Oxford University Press. \$3.

FRANCE UNDER THE FOURTH REPUBLIC. By François Goguel. Cornell University Press. \$3.

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY IN ITALY AND FRANCE. By Mario Einaudi and François Goguel. University of Notre Dame Press. \$4.

THE Fourth French Republic has officially been in existence for six years. Actually it has been operating for more than eight—ever since the liberation of the country in the summer of 1944. This is a span long enough to constitute a comprehensible historical period: it has seen the full five-year course of the first legislature elected under the new constitution and more than one dramatic regrouping of political forces. It

was time for the historians and political scientists to give form and sense to what had happened. This they have undertaken in three studies that have appeared in the past few months. Two of them—those by Messrs. Einaudi and Goguel—are successors to the extremely useful volume "Communism in Western Europe" that a year ago inaugurated the publications of the "French-Italian Inquiry" sponsored by Cornell University. The third, by the well-known British historian David Thomson, is a revision of an earlier work on the Third Republic. These three, plus the Cornell volume on communism, may be combined with two of last year's books, "The United States and France," by Donald C. McKay, and "Modern France," edited by Edward Mead Earle, to form a substantial shelf of guides to the recent development of the most important of America's Continental allies.

Mr. Thomson's book offers a convenient starting-point. It is the least

specialized of the three and the one that the systematic reader will do well to take up first. Since its original publication in 1946, it has ranked as the standard brief account in English of French democracy since 1870. Less a complete history than an analysis of the background and operation of French democratic procedures, it is a model of compactness and coherent exposition. Of particular value are the chapters in which Mr. Thomson analyzes the way in which the structure of French society has found its logical expression in constitutional arrangements that might otherwise strike the Anglo-Saxon as senselessly anarchical. Ultra-individualism and a love of symmetrical order, Mr. Thomson argues, are both legitimate products of the French tradition: they could be adequately reflected only in a hybrid constitution—combining administrative centralization and continuity with parliamentary effervescence and ministerial instability—such as France lived under for the two generations from 1875 to the Second World War.

Now Mr. Thomson has projected this thesis from the fall of the Third Republic in 1940, through the Vichy hiatus and the founding of the Fourth Republic in 1946, up to the present. He has done it in a single chapter of twenty-seven pages, which replaces a chapter in the earlier edition, entitled *The Future Outlook*, of precisely the same length. Besides being a curious revelation of the prohibitive expense of typesetting at the present time, the new chapter ranks as a tour de force of compression. Despite the obvious handicaps under which he is laboring, Mr. Thomson succeeds in telling us all we need to know. Essentially he informs us that the Fourth Republic is nearly an exact replica of the Third. After a gallant start in a new direction, it gradually slid back into the familiar routines established by its predecessor. And presumably it did so because the old procedures still expressed the basic character of French society. Although recognizing the changes that modern industrialism has brought—changes that even under the Third Republic gradually turned "all its original assets . . . into liabilities"—Mr. Thomson sticks to his thesis of continuity. There is still, he concludes, an amazing resiliency in the old country. Yet he grants that one great political

novelty has appeared—"the subservience of the parliamentary representatives, and even of ministers, to the directives of their party organizations outside parliament." This is where Mr. Goguel's book comes in. Narrower in scope than Mr. Thomson's, it is a political history of the Fourth Republic, with particular emphasis on the problems of organized parties. These are questions on which Mr. Goguel is a recognized expert: he is both a permanent official attached to the Council of the Republic (the post-war quasi-Senate) and the author of a massive study, "La Politique des partis sous la Troisième République," which has become a classic for students of French politics.

MR. GOGUEL'S central thesis is that the traditional division of French parties into a right and a left is based on outworn ideological considerations—particularly anti-clericalism—that no longer correspond to social reality. This he discovers in the cleavage between the demands of the modern industrialized areas of the country and the resistance of the more backward areas characterized by peasant agriculture and small business. The former give France its present-day importance—yet the latter dominate the political scene. "The center of political gravity in France . . . coincides in no way with its center of economic gravity." The reason for this discrepancy is that of the six main parties that nearly monopolize French political life, the four that represent the newer areas and tendencies—the Communists, the Socialists, the Catholic Popular Republicans, and the Gaullists—are separated from each other by the traditional right-left hostility, thereby leaving a disproportionate influence to the two groups that stand for the "retrograde" areas and interests, the Radicals and the conservative Independents.

Excluding the Communists as politically impossible, Mr. Goguel quite logically proposes that the other three parties that appeal to the "modern" electorate—the Socialists, the Popular Republicans, and the Gaullists—should sink their differences and unite to manage the state. This he regards as the sole way out of the impasse of the "hexagonal" Chamber produced by the election of 1951. Aside from the rather obvious objection that Mr. Goguel's

solution dismisses too lightly the fascist danger implicit in Gaullism, it suddenly appears that its author himself no longer believes it to be the only possibility. In an epilogue written after the rest of the book had presumably gone to press, Mr. Goguel admits with disarming candor that what he had earlier told us was most unlikely has actually occurred. The Independents and Radicals have persuaded a minority of the Gaullists and three-fourths of the Popular Republicans to go along with them in supporting an old-fashioned conservative government. And, what is still more surprising, this government, under the able leadership of Antoine Pinay, proved to be the most coherent and purposeful of the ministries that have ruled the country since the liberation. In France as well as the United States, it appears, political prediction is a perilous pastime.

The Pinay experiment immensely clarified the French political scene. It demonstrated that a responsible conservative coalition could exist as a functioning reality. The fall of the Pinay government did not invalidate this point,

since the new Mayer Cabinet essentially represents a revival of the same coalition. What is now needed is a similar coalition of the non-Communist left—the Socialists and the progressive wing of the Popular Republicans—to balance it. In this way the hexagon would be reduced to a quadrilateral. Two responsible coalitions and two irresponsible parties—the Communists and the proto-fascist segment of the Gaullists—would offer the voter the four basic choices characteristic of our era.

Thus redefined, the terms "right" and "left" in French politics still appear to have a meaning: within each of them there is logically room for one—and only one—democratic and one dictatorial alternative. Thus the continuous elements dear to Mr. Thomson can be regrouped to correspond to the contemporary realities so deftly analyzed by Mr. Goguel. What is at present standing in the way of such a regrouping? Why is the unity of the non-Communist left still so far from being accomplished? Partly the responsibility lies

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with the sterile dogmatism of the French Socialists. But it rests still more with the Popular Republicans: the mere existence of a party based rather on religion than on a coherent political philosophy undercuts the whole concept of logical political alignment.

HENCE THE LAST of our three books—a collaborative study of Christian Democracy in which Mr. Goguel treats the French party and Mr. Einaudi the Italian—takes on a particular relevance. It is a unique and highly informative volume. Both authors are thoroughly at home in their subjects; both have considerable sympathy for the parties about which they write. But that is precisely where their difficulties begin. Last year when Mr. Einaudi and two European collaborators were dealing with communism, they wrote firmly and to the point. Now the tone has become more cautious. Such is frequently the case when Catholic social theory is under discussion: the very subject matter apparently breeds imprecision. This time both authors are apologetic about the parties they are dealing with: neither has turned out to be what they—and most of the party leaders besides—would have liked it to be. This is less true of Mr. Goguel than of Mr. Einaudi. The former takes legitimate pride in the fact that the French Popular Republicans have remained “pure” and have shown notable courage in their attitude toward De Gaulle. But the Italian Christian Democrats—as Mr. Einaudi admits with more sorrow than irritation—have bogged down in the rut of government-as-usual: standpat, discreetly corrupt, and arbitrary by fits and starts, the party threatens to become nothing more inspiring than a routine clerical-conservative vehicle for remaining in office.

“Christian Democracy,” the book’s preface explains, “represents the most important concrete expression of Europe’s effort to direct its postwar political life towards democracy and constitutionalism. . . . For developments since 1945, Christian Democracy must therefore take a large part of the credit or, conversely, assume a large part of the blame.” Messrs. Einaudi and Goguel have given the Christian Democrats their full measure of credit. But they are a bit too gentle when it comes to handing out the blame.

H. STUART HUGHES

Sandburg’s Middle West

ALWAYS THE YOUNG STRANGERS. By Carl Sandburg. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$5.

I HAVE heard it said by a man who knows about such matters that the century of the Middle West in this country, the hundred years of American history that were shaped and dominated by the prairie and the prairie town, has just come to a close; it lasted from 1850 to 1950. He likes to cite the many men who exemplified the region—Lincoln, Veblen, Dreiser, Altgeld, McCormick, Meade, Dewey, Hemingway, Sullivan, Field, Haywood, Wright, Pulitzer, Twain, Beiderbeck. All these of course and many others contributed fundamentally to the concept of America, whether it is good or bad, that we all share and that we have exported to the rest of the world. Now the locus of native feeling appears to have shifted westward, to California and the neon-lighted desert; but it will be a long time before the new attitudes engendered there produce anything as unmistakably and beautifully—and of course indefinitely—“American” as “The Killers,” the New Deal, the Monadnock Building, or the gasoline-driven combine. We can hope, I suppose, that it will be equally long before the West produces anything as ugly as the World’s Fair or the Chicago *Daily Tribune*.

Perhaps the dilemma—idiotic but inescapable word!—of the contemporary intellectual in America can be put in terms of his embarrassment over these hundred years. Are they rich or poor, a waste land or a treasure house? We Middle Westerners from New England and the South, shall we admit the beauty of that level land with its mighty arc of sky? Or shall we condemn the dust and bitter cold, the primitive twang of the voices? More profoundly, what shall we do with the material of materialism in its greatest social, artistic, and even topographical expression?

Fortunately, a few, a very few of our critics and social scientists are beginning to realize that the interdisciplines of cultural anthropology and the sociologies of art, religion, and politics can be put to good use in the study of recent American civilization, and soon perhaps some theories and attitudes may emerge with which the artist and the

ordinary man can pursue these questions. Carl Sandburg’s “Always the Young Strangers” will serve as primary evidence for the study.

Already in the newspapers the book has been called a “masterpiece” and a “classic.” Such talk is beyond my comprehension. The book is *not* a masterpiece. It creaks with bad grammar, formlessness, and an unfeeling use of language. It contains some appalling juxtapositions, as when Sandburg quotes part of Franklin’s address to the Constitutional Convention in favor of ratification, an impressive specimen of eighteenth-century rhetoric, and then says of the book in which he read it, “It was a honey of a book.” Furthermore, Sandburg is loquacious; sometimes his stories are tedious and unnecessary.

“Always the Young Strangers” is not an autobiography. One learns very little of Sandburg himself—the main impression is of his engaging and genuine modesty. Instead, one reads hundreds of remembrances and observations of Galesburg, Illinois, during the ’80’s and ’90’s. Sandburg’s parents, brothers and sisters, classmates, neighbors, people in the town, even dogs and cats and horses, all are remembered in bountiful detail. He remembers the cigar his father was given each pay day when the family account was settled at the grocery store: “He smoked an inch or two each Sunday and it lasted him till the next pay day, when he got another cigar.” He remembers the advice on marriage given by one drunk to another, overheard on the public square one summer night: “You’ll never get what you want and if you do it won’t last.”

The hard ideal of respectability in spite of poverty, an unfailing loyalty to the Republican Party, a severe piety, whether Lutheran or Catholic, a fear of the rich, distrust of anything “impractical,” and with it all a curious, naive humor—these are some of the qualities of the Middle West, where everyone was an immigrant, if not from Sweden or Ireland, then from Pennsylvania or Massachusetts. From Sandburg’s roundabout and sometimes vexatious memoir these qualities stand forth in full; and it is important to have them on paper, now that the era of the Middle West has been gone long enough for us to begin to notice its departure.

HAYDEN CARRUTH

Imperfection Unlimited

THE NEXT MILLION YEARS. By Charles Galton Darwin. Doubleday and Company. \$2.75.

PROPHETS announcing various dooms and salvations are today a dime a dozen. Not even the ancient Hebrews produced quite so many or anything like so great a variety. Jehovah usually spoke in much the same voice, and there was only one Law to appeal to. We have thermodynamics as well as history, physics, psychology, economics, and a dozen other sure guides—all of which can be made to point in different directions. No wonder we may take our choice and have what looks like good ground for assuming that either Utopia or utter calamity is just around the corner. Those in search of either clarification or further doubts should, however, by no means miss the present book. For one thing, its author is both a distinguished scientist in his own right and the grandson of Charles Darwin. More importantly, his line of argument is as novel as it is well sustained. It will exasperate end-of-the-worldists only a little less than optimists of every variety, and it supplies a bewildering assortment of knockdown arguments to be used against all and sundry.

In the course of ten or a hundred million years, says the author, radical changes may take place. Our knowledge does not permit us to predict what a sufficiently long period of time may bring. But the history of mankind during the next one million years will be very much what it has been during the last five or ten thousand. There will be ups and downs as there have always been. There will be occasional local golden ages, such as the one which Western Europe enjoyed during the nineteenth century. But these will continue to be, as they have always been, rare exceptions. The human race will survive, but it will never for long succeed in doing much more than that.

This prediction—and Mr. Darwin insists that it is not a speculation but analogous to the kind of prediction which science has learned to make accurately when dealing statistically with aggregates without taking account of the individual behavior of a single person or a single atom—he bases upon the contention that the two determinants

are human nature and population pressures, neither of which will be significantly modified during the period under consideration.

The new species of man upon whom the Shaws and the Wellses pin their hopes cannot be produced by evolution, since it is demonstrable that not one million but many millions of years are required for evolution to modify a species significantly. On the other hand, a new man cannot be produced by "education" or "reconditioning," since no educator or dictator can set goals which transcend the limitations of his own nature and cannot, therefore, even will anything significantly different from what he himself is. Moreover, since acquired characteristics are not inheritable while inborn tendencies are, everything that can be learned dies with each generation, leaving the next with only what nature has given it. Thus, to take an extreme example, the reeducated criminal's children will inherit whatever propensities made him a criminal in the first place without inheriting any effects of the reconditioning. Even eugenics can produce no radical change, for selective breeding is possible only where the animal is submitted, as man cannot be, to the control of some species "higher" than itself.

So far as population pressures are concerned, Malthus's law is still, in the long run, inexorable. Improved techniques for food production give temporary relief and are as a matter of fact largely responsible for the occasional brief golden ages during which whole populations seem to have escaped want. But population at last always catches up again, because there is always a limit to what any technique can produce, never a limit to the power of the species as a whole to multiply until the food supply is barely able to sustain it. Any class and any nation which voluntarily or involuntarily fails to keep pace will simply be overwhelmed by one which does. Speaking of a project which spread out the waters of the Indus River and turned a desert into a garden, Mr. Darwin writes: "According to the universally accepted standards this was a great benefit to the world, for it made possible the adequate feeding of a people previously on the verge of starvation. But—after a few years the effect was only to have a large number of people

on the verge of starvation instead of a small number."

Though only a few more than two hundred pages in length, "The Next Million Years" manages a singularly cogent presentation of various other dilemmas only somewhat less fundamental than the two central ones, and to many it will seem to constitute a formidable attack upon every conceivable proposal for a better world. Yet Mr. Darwin disclaims any such intention, and it is perhaps worth pointing out that even if one accepts all his theses, one may, if temperamentally so inclined, dismiss them from every consideration of what ameliorations of the human lot may be attempted for a limited period of time and over a limited area of the earth. A golden age may last for centuries and may be succeeded by others equally golden. It is both permanent prosperity and temporary perfection that are declared impossible. Within the next million years there can be no City

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of God destined to an eternity of perfection.

Taking an even broader and more philosophical view, one may wonder whether the real significance of a scientific prophecy like this one may not be the same as that of a book as different in method as, say, Reinhold Niebuhr's recent "The Irony of American History." Fundamentally unrelated as Mr. Darwin's theses may seem to a reaffirmation of the doctrine of original sin, both might, nevertheless, be interpreted as attempts to give rational form to the loss of faith in that desire for and belief in perfectibility which underlies so much of recent political and social thinking. Perhaps neither is, in one sense, "true." Perhaps both are only very elaborate ways of saying what many once and few now believe: "The remedy for the ills of life is palliative rather than radical."

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Books in Brief

ANNAPURNA. By Maurice Herzog. Translated from the French by Lea Morin and Janet Adam Smith. Cartographic and Photographic Documentation by Marcel Ichac. Dutton. \$5. The exciting events and something of the mystique of a mountain-climbing adventure as set down by the leader of a French Himalayan expedition which in 1950 reached the summit of the first peak of more than eight thousand meters ever to be conquered. The dangers and difficulties of the ascent

were of the expected sort, but near the top the leader lost his gloves; the party was overtaken by a blizzard; and two men had to suffer repeated amputations of toes and fingers at the isolated base camps. Both were then carried through a monsoon over the long route to the Nepalese capital. Mr. Herzog dictated his narrative from the American Hospital in Paris, to which he was still confined a year later. Not all readers are likely to be persuaded by his account that the self-imposed torments of what he calls an *acte gratuit* result in a sense of liberation which justifies them to the sufferer. But perhaps his explanation will bring less Dionysian spirits as close as they are ever likely to get to comprehension.

THE WYNNE DIARIES, 1789-1820. Passages Selected and Edited by Anne Fremantle. Oxford. \$2. The first one-volume abridgment (551 pages) of the diaries kept by three long-forgotten sisters and first published in three volumes about a decade ago. The Wynnes—who began journalizing at a tender age—were English girls who grew up on the Continent toward the end of the eighteenth century and amid a round of receptions, balls, and masquerades. They touched the fringes of history when the principal diarist married a Captain Fremantle who served with Nelson's fleet during the crucial years and through him they got glimpses of Trafalgar. The jacket's inevitable invocation of Pepys and Boswell is somewhat beside the point, since the Wynnes, though likable, vivacious, and intelli-

gent, were conventional people. Nevertheless the diaries are well worth reading for the sense they give one of seeing a vanished age through ordinary eyes.

THE SELECTIVE TRAVELLER IN PORTUGAL. By Ann Bridge and Susan Lowndes. Knopf. \$5.75. Anyone thinking of a vacation in Portugal will find this book by two Englishwomen both useful and irritating. One is the wife of an erstwhile British ambassador, the other the daughter of the writer Mrs. Belloc Lowndes, and married to a Portuguese journalist. Together they know more about flowers and baroque architecture than about economics or politics; so that anyone interested in finding out what Premier Salazar has done or how his people regard him will have to look elsewhere. These two friends have run up and down the roads of Portugal, delved into its history, looked with a critical eye at its major and minor works of art. One may not agree with their taste or their prejudices, but at least they have visited and described the things not to be missed in that minute land where history lies so thick. Travelers with time and patience may profit from their exploration.

THEY LEARN WHAT THEY LIVE. By Helen G. Trager and Marian Radke Yarrow. Harper and Brothers. \$4.50. This is the account of an important project in intercultural education carried on in the Philadelphia public-school system. From six schools in areas where intergroup tensions existed, teachers and children were selected for an experiment in measuring and changing attitudes. The first job was to reeducate a group of teachers who had the usual emotional vested interests in old ways of teaching and at the outset failed to recognize the problems of prejudice existing in their own classes. Through tactful and patient leadership they were guided to a broader social outlook and equipped with the necessary tools of teaching. Social-attitude tests given before and after the experiment showed conclusively that democracy can be taught. These tests throw much light on the nature and extent of prejudice in young children. Contrary to current belief, a large percentage of these children between the ages of five and eight are already

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NOTE TO OUR READERS:

Simone de Beauvoir's new and provocative book **THE SECOND SEX** will be reviewed as the lead book for the above-mentioned issue.

imbued with negative attitudes toward other groups. Here is a fine example of research pointing toward constructive educational change in an area where change is sorely needed.

PICTURE. A STORY ABOUT HOLLYWOOD. By Lillian Ross. Rinehart. \$3.50. This 250-page report gives a detailed account, atmospheric as well as factual, of the actual making of a movie. It begins on the day that Louella Parsons informed her readers that M-G-M would do "The Red Badge of Courage" and ends when Mr. Schenck seizes his opportunity to say "I told you so." Miss Ross follows John Huston, the director, from conference, to location, to party, reporting with dead-pan detachment what everybody said or did. Though she never raises her voice or confesses an opinion, the total effect is as sinister as it was doubtless intended to be. In one way or another every person who appears seems to be the victim of a group obsession and to live in an atmosphere of unresolved conflicts, where worship of the bitch goddess and Oriental self-abasement before the whims of the public accompany occasional apologetic references to art. According to Miss Ross, Dore Schary's office is adorned with a bronze plaque upon which is engraved Ruskin's dictum: "There is hardly anything in the world that some man cannot make a little worse and sell a little cheaper." But if she knows whose bull Mr. Schary believes is being gored she keeps the knowledge to herself.

CONTRIBUTORS

W. R. RODGERS, Irish poet, whose first volume of verse, "Awake, and Other Poems," was published in 1941, is a script-writer and producer for the British Broadcasting Corporation. In 1951 he was elected to the Irish Academy of Letters to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Bernard Shaw.

H. STUART HUGHES, associate professor of history at Stanford University, is the author of "An Essay for Our Times" and "Oswald Spengler: A Critical Estimate."

HAYDEN CARRUTH, formerly editor of *Poetry*, is on the staff of Intercultural Publications.

ROBERT E. GARIS is a member of the Department of English of Wellesley College.

January 24, 1953

RECORD NOTES

BY ROBERT E. GARIS

Beethoven: Concerto No. 5 for piano and orchestra ("Emperor"); Horowitz with Reiner and the RCA Victor Symphony Orchestra (Victor); slick and brassy.

Overtures: "Coriolan," "Egmont," and "Leonore" No. 3; Keilberth and the Berlin Philharmonic (Capitol); fair performances.

Sonatas for piano, Op. 14, No. 2; 54; 57; 78; 101; Backhaus (London); never great playing, but almost always beautifully sensitive in phrasing and tone, with only occasional fussy mannerisms; recordings considerably flawed by buzzes and cracks.

Sonatas for violin and piano Op. 12, No. 2 and Op. 30, No. 3; Airoff and Schneiderhan (Remington); very poor performances.

Sonata for violin and piano, Op. 47 ("Kreutzer"); Heifetz and Moiseiwitsch (Victor); poor performance; recording shrill, blurred, with rumble.

Symphony No. 1; Schuricht and Vienna Philharmonic (London); excellent performance.

Symphony No. 2; Schuricht and Vienna Philharmonic (London), Walter and New York Philharmonic (Columbia); both excellent performances. (Walter's performance coupled with an excellent performance of Beethoven's Fourth Symphony.)

Berlioz: "Dance of the Sylphs," "Minuet of the Will o' the Wisps," and "Rakoczy March" from "The Damnation of Faust"; Van Beinum and the Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam (London); good performances; recording a bit thin and distant. (With Handel's "The Royal Fireworks" and Clarke's "Trumpet Voluntary.")

Brahms: Concerto No. 2 for piano and orchestra; Backhaus with Schuricht and the Vienna Philharmonic (London); excellent performance; recording reverberant.

"Liebeslieder" Waltzes and German Folk Songs; Roger Wagner Chorale and Heckman and Neff, pianists (Capitol); pleasant collegiate performances; recording gritty.

String Quartet in C Minor, Op. 51, No. 1; Vegh String Quartet (London); good performance.

Symphony No. 1; Kubelik and the

Chicago Symphony (Mercury); fair performance.

Chopin: Sonatas for piano, Op. 35 and 58; Kilenyi (Remington); poor performances; piano sound cold.

Dvorak: Concerto for violoncello and orchestra; Nelsova with Krips and the London Symphony (London); fair performance.

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Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

IN ALBAN BERG'S uncompleted opera "Lulu," of which Columbia has issued a performance recorded in Vienna, I hear the operation of the same mastery as in "Wozzeck"; but I do not hear in the vocal parts—notably the extravagantly florid part of Lulu—the expressive relation to the dramatic text that I heard in "Wozzeck." And this—in addition to the fact that "Wozzeck" is concerned with pitiful human beings who involve one with them emotionally, whereas "Lulu" is concerned with depraved human beings by whom one is repelled—may be why I find myself not moved by "Lulu" as I was by "Wozzeck" (though I can see that the work might affect me in the theater as it doesn't on the records). I am not in a position to estimate the effectiveness of the performance in which Herbert Häfner conducts the Vienna Symphony and a cast headed by Iлона Steingruber; but I can say that the man who sings Alwa has a wobbly voice that is as painfully inadequate in this music as it would be in Verdi.

In Urania's recording of Gluck's "Orfeo ed Euridice" (in Italian) Margarete Klose's contralto voice produces sumptuously beautiful low notes but tremulous high ones, and Rita Streich's soprano is unpleasantly thin and edged, but there is consistently good singing by Erna Berger. The

chorus and orchestra are those of the Berlin Civic Opera; the conductor is Arthur Rother, whose pacing of the work I find occasionally ineffective.

A number of bass arias from Mozart's operas are sung excellently on a London record by Fernando Corena with fine orchestral accompaniments conducted by Erede and Maag and reproduced with London's veiled violins.

Duets from Verdi's "Don Carlo," "La Forza del Destino," and "Otello" and Delibes's "The Pearl Fishers" are sung very well on an RCA Victor record by Bjoerling and Merrill with good accompaniments conducted by Cellini.

The arias from Bizet's "Carmen" on a Columbia record are sung well by Tourel with excellent accompaniments by the orchestra under Morel's direction. Tourel also sings excerpts from Offenbach operettas.

Ferdinand Frantz's voice is harsh in the excerpts from Wagner's "Die Meistersinger" on one side of a Urania record. But on the other side are excellent performances of the Preludes to Acts 1 and 3 and the Dance of the Apprentices by the Saxon State Orchestra under Rudolf Kempe.

One of the second group of HMV LPs issued by Victor offers the final duet of Wagner's "Siegfried" sung by Flagstad and Svanholm with the Philharmonia Orchestra under George Sebastian, and the finale of "Die Götterdämmerung" sung by Flagstad with the same orchestra under Furtwängler. In the closing section of the duet and the "Götterdämmerung" music on the second side one hears the Flagstad voice of recent years—the lower notes with the unique lustrous beauty that is gone from the upper ones, which are a little tremulous and occasionally shrill; in the earlier portion of the duet on the first side the voice is excessively tremulous, shrill, and edged throughout its range. Svanholm quavers as usual.

A Victor Treasury series record offers the "Lohengrin" and "Parsifal" duets that Flagstad recorded with Melchior in 1940, in which one hears the liquid splendor of her voice almost to the top of its range at that time. Another such record offers, with Toscanini's 1946 "Siegfried-Idyll," the "Götterdämmerung" finale that he recorded with Traubel in 1941. This was her best period, when her voice had freed itself

of its earlier tremolo and had not yet acquired its recent tremolo-ridden acidulous shrillness; and in the "Götterdämmerung" performance it rings out with clarity and power—but with nothing like Flagstad's splendor. And even in her recent "Götterdämmerung" performance Flagstad's is still the more beautiful singing of the two. Furtwängler's treatment of the "Götterdämmerung" music is relaxed and spacious, Toscanini's more tightly knit. The dubbed sound of the Toscanini performance is very good; that of the Furtwängler more spacious and live.

One thing to mention is that the Toscanini record is the only one of these records of opera excerpts that is provided with the necessary text and its translation—the envelopes of the others providing only the chatter about history and the mere summaries of the action that are of no use in listening.

Also, my review copy of the Flagstad "Götterdämmerung" record sounds as though the stylus were hitting a stretch of concrete at each revolution; and I mention this because such noisy defects have become so frequent—in addition to the noises from scratches made by grit in the envelopes.

When I was able to check London's "Swan Lake" with the score I found that it offered only part of Tchaikovsky's music—presumably the part used in the Sadler's Wells production, with an additional cut in the so-called "Black Swan" pas de deux. Urania's "Swan Lake" also offers only a part of the score (with the same "Black Swan" cut) that is less well selected, less well played by the orchestra of the Prague National Theater under Krombholz, and less well reproduced.

London has issued Tchaikovsky's wonderful score for "The Sleeping Beauty"—with cuts and a major rearrangement which lead me to suppose that what is offered is again what is used in the Sadler's Wells production, with again an additional cut in the final pas de deux. The Paris Conservatory Concerts Orchestra plays beautifully; Fistoulari's handling of the music is less impressive—with the coda of the pas de six in the Prologue, for example, much too slow, and Nos. 12 a and b in Act 2 much too fast. The recorded sound is excellent except for the London veiled violins.

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It is to meet the challenge of our generation, so nobly stated by Judge Learned Hand, that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has been organized. The Committee now calls liberty-loving

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The conference will re-emphasize the importance of the Bill of Rights in our society. Distinguished speakers will recommend ways of regaining the full protection of individual liberty guaranteed in our Constitution. The conference will also draft a petition of grievances to be presented, in accordance with the First Amendment, to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Attorney-General and the Congress.

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"The Bill of Rights".....Musical Number
"The Bill of Rights in American History".....An Address

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Report on current infringements of academic freedom.

Who is behind the attacks on public schools?

What can we do to maintain freedom in education?

Participants: Prof. Derk Bodde, Dr. Scott Buchanan,
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Forum II—Freedom of the Arts

Current limitation on the arts.

Cultural cost of censorship and blacklisting.

What can be done to restore freedom in the arts?

Participants: Matthew Josephson, Author, Merle
Miller, Author, Ben Shahn, Artist.

Forum III—The Political Use of Fear

The psychological explanation

Current curbs on our freedom.

What we can do to hold to our constitutional rights.

Participants: Rev. Malcolm R. Evans, Carey McWilliams, Editor, Canon Robert D. Smith, I. F. Stone, Author, Dr. Lawrence J. Roose, Psychiatrist.

Forum IV—Loyalty and the Fifth Amendment

Loyalty tests in government service, unions, professions and private enterprise.

The Fifth Amendment as a protection for the innocent.

Participants: Judge Hubert Delaney, Prof. Thomas I. Emerson, Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, Educator.

SATURDAY 12 noon-1:30 P.M.

Buffet Lunch

SATURDAY 1:30 P.M.

General Session—What We Can Do to Uphold the Bill of Rights

Religious and moral foundations for the Bill of Rights.

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January 24, 1953

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Letters to the Editors

Eisenhower and Korea

Dear Sirs: The change of Administration in Washington affords an opportunity to review the situation in Korea. General Eisenhower cannot be oblivious of the fact that his campaign offer to go to Korea was the most significant factor in winning the election because it was a promise of peace.

To get a cease-fire the United States will have to recognize the Republic of China and withdraw opposition to its admission to the U. N. Eisenhower's background may make it possible for him to agree to a settlement along these lines. Having had some experience with European public opinion which heaps criticism upon statesmen who fail to follow the principles of *Realpolitik*, Eisenhower may be more prone to compromise than Truman, who hasn't had the benefit of his successor's education. Eisenhower must be conscious of the fact that only by negotiating with Peking can the frightful alternative of an expanded war be avoided. Even if the American people can stomach this, it is clear that our allies will not.

The task for those who for two years have petitioned earnestly for peace in Korea is to keep before Eisenhower his obligation to use every means to accomplish this end. Instead of calling for an immediate cease-fire or a five-power

conference they should urge the new Administration to negotiate with Peking. They should also rally to Eisenhower's support and defend him from the distasteful word appeasement if he takes a tentative step in this direction. . . .

Eisenhower's remarks on his return from Korea about a threatening slaughter may not mean he plans to extend the Korean war. It may well have been meant to soften up the American public by warning it of the alternative to negotiation. Since Mr. Dulles is of a more flexible disposition than Mr. Acheson, as his variable opinions collected by Mr. Rovere in a recent issue of the *Reporter* shows, it may be hoped that he will try to do by diplomacy what his rivals have failed to bring about by force. . . .

Chicago ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

Was Orwell Shrewd . . .

Dear Sirs: Of the many comments that might be made on Herbert L. Matthews's article, *Homage to Orwell* [*The Nation*, December 27], I should like to make two:

1. George Orwell's "Homage to Catalonia" advances the view that the Spanish Loyalist cause was fatally injured by the dominance of the Stalinist policies in the Loyalist government. Mr. Matthews undertakes in his article to correct this view by advancing the diametrically opposite view. Mr. Matthews's position is, I suppose, arguable; and certainly it is a very familiar position. But in 1939, when Orwell wrote "Homage to Catalonia," the position was just as familiar as it is today, far more widely held, and it was to correct it that Orwell wrote his book. He did not write it, I may add, as the politically naive person that Mr. Matthews implies he was and that Dr. Negrín says he was, but as one of the shrewdest, as well as one of the most honest, political observers of his time.

2. Mr. Matthews remarks that there is no evidence that I was aware, when I wrote my introduction to "Homage to Catalonia," that "Orwell became acquainted with some of the Spanish Republican exiles in London in the early years of World War II." Mr. Matthews is correct in his supposition—I had no knowledge of this fact. But I cannot see what bearing the fact has on the validity of Orwell's views. Nor am I in the least

enlightened by the letter from Dr. Negrín which Mr. Matthews subjoins to his article. Dr. Negrín characterizes Orwell in terms which add up to: a decent and honest but stupid, mentally lazy, morally strict, individualistic, and all too candid Englishman. He implies that Orwell, as a member of the P. O. U. M. brigade, was under the influence of Nazis and of people "allergic" not only to Stalinism but even to ideas of unity and discipline, an influence which presumably accounts for the opinions expressed in his book. And Dr. Negrín tells us that Orwell questioned him about the policies of his government and gives it as his "impression" that "Orwell was satisfied with [his] explanations."

I take it that Dr. Negrín wishes to say that Orwell changed his mind about the conclusions of "Homage to Catalonia," and that Mr. Matthews, in publishing Dr. Negrín's letter, implies the same thing. Dr. Negrín and Mr. Matthews are agreed on, and make a great point of, Orwell's supreme honesty. Orwell died in 1950; Dr. Negrín says that he met Orwell in 1940. If Orwell changed his mind as the result of his conversations with Dr. Negrín, there was the opportunity of a full decade for him to repudiate his book or correct it. He did not do so. Either he did not change his mind or he was not a supremely honest man. But I believe he was a supremely honest man. And I believe that it is not becoming in anyone, least of all in men who disagree with him, to tell us what he really thought but did not choose to say.

New York

LIONEL TRILLING

. . . Or Ill-informed?

Dear Sirs: Professor Trilling argues entirely *ad hominem*, the idea being that since Orwell was shrewd as well as honest he must have been right. I believe I proved that Orwell's judgment was based on inadequate knowledge and that his "facts" were sometimes wrong. Professor Trilling has no facts to disprove my thesis. He seeks to impale me on a false dilemma, since obviously Orwell was under no compulsion to write any more about Spain. Besides which, his acquaintance with the Spanish exiles in England was not confined to Dr. Negrín and did not end in 1940.

New York HERBERT L. MATTHEWS

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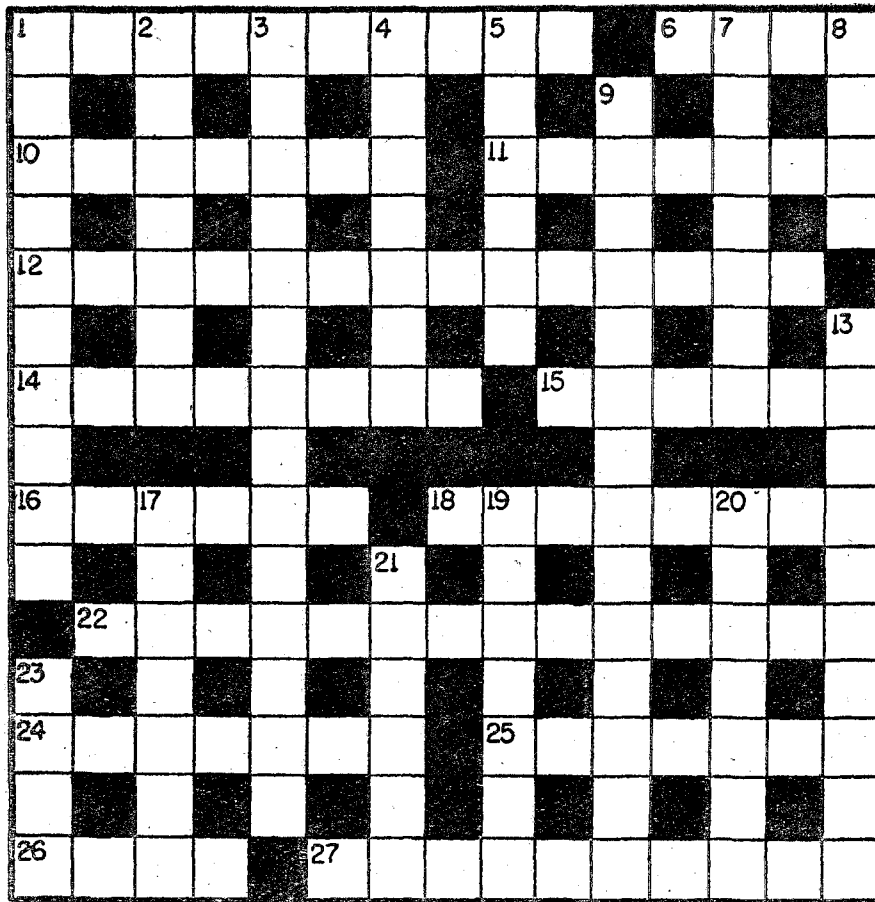
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Crossword Puzzle No. 500

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 If I ever act it, you'd hardly recognize this as coming from an opera! (10)
- 6 See 19 down
- 10 The delusion of overlapping sound and time? (7)
- 11 Emerson said coal is a portable one. (7)
- 12 Common ground, perhaps. (6, 8)
- 14 Turn seed into this—the time spent evidently wasn't easy. (8)
- 15 Orion's quite logically directed to heaven! (6)
- 16 Get in a present form of 11's end. (7)
- 18 All creation sounds as though it should have but a single piece of poetry about it. (8)
- 22 Openings at the financial center suggest where gossips hang out. (7, 7)
- 24 Said to be one way to convert a den. (7)
- 25 Passing over in silence. (7)
- 26 Range animals found in the west. (4)
- 27 Sounds like underground people with the French underground. (One gets beat with them.) (10)

DOWN

- 1 One can't say such things weren't caught before. (10)
- 2 One who aspires to be slightly more than supple. (7)

- 3 Sounds like what's wrong with Wynken, Ben and Nod. (3, 7, 4)
- 4 A rough pelt around an animal is just to step on. (7)
- 5 Spoils his belongings, reputedly. (6)
- 7 These might get hot and break out into the rash. (7)
- 8 Appear to bring back the extremes of 27. (4)
- 9 What the safety is for? (4, 10)
- 13 Endorses how some think we're all born. (10)
- 17 A main support of the settler? (7)
- 19 and 6 You'll have to get the attention of the Navy speaker for this. (3, 4, 4)
- 20 You'll find him dour, with an element of silvery whiteness. (7)
- 21 You might get a bit attached to it, or draw back in resentment. (6)
- 23 It implies the end of a composition is good? (4)



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